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FRAY PEDRO DE GANTE

THE FIRST OF THE GREAT EDUCATORS OF AMERICA¹ (1479?-1572)

I. *Early Life*

THE first of the great missionaries, educators and civilizers of America, and one of the most illustrious defenders of liberty on this continent was Peeter Van der Moere (Moor or Muer), or as he called himself in Spanish, Pedro de Mura. Generally known as Pedro de Gante, he was born in 1479 or 1480 at Ayghem-Saint Pierre, a suburb of Ghent, and there is strong proof that he was the son of the Prince of Austria, later the Emperor Maximilian I.

Having pursued his studies at the University of Louvain, he busied himself, from his early youth, as he tells us, in the service of the King, until, renouncing the pomp of the court and the vanities of the world, he became a member of the Franciscan convent in Ghent. Notwithstanding his university education he chose to be a lay brother.

During his life in the convent he became a friend of two distinguished friars who, like himself, were to be prominent in the missionary activities of the New World: Fray Juan de Toict, or de Tecto (called Johan Dekkers in Flanders), Superior of the convent and for fourteen years professor of Theology at the Sorbonne, and Fray Juan de Aora or Ayora (in Flemish, Johan Van den Auwera), an old and venerable scholar who was said to be closely related to the King of Scotland, just as Pedro de Gante was related to the Emperor Charles V. These three friends, hearing reports about the Spanish expeditions in the New World, conceived a strong desire to go and preach the gospel in New

¹This article is an extract and translation of Dr. Ezequiel A. Chávez' monograph *El primero de los grandes educadores de la América, Fray Pedro de Gante*, published by the Universidad Nacional de México (México, Imprenta Mundial, 1934, 106 pp.). The extract and translation, revised and approved by Dr. Chávez, were done by Dr. Hermenegildo Corbató, of the University of California at Los Angeles, where Dr. Chávez was also Professor of Latin American History during the spring semester of 1931-1932 (The *Editor*).

Spain. Permission was asked to do so from the Provincial Superior of the order, and from Charles V who gladly granted it. Not waiting to obtain the permission of the Pope (Adrian VI, who at the time had not reached Rome as yet), the three left Ghent in the octave of Easter of 1522. This momentous step was not the result of a youthful impulse, for the youngest of the three, Fray Pedro, having passed his youth and manhood in Flanders, was now in the middle of his life. He was over forty-two.

In 1522 Easter fell on the twentieth of April. About the twenty-seventh, then, Ghent was left behind and the three companions embarked for Spain, in the company of Charles V, who was returning to this country after visiting the court of the Tudors.

One can surmise the trend of the conversations about Mexico between the Emperor and the friars during this trip. Charles had already received not only the first account of Cortés (*Carta-Relación*) about his exploits, written in June, 1519, but also the letter addressed to the Emperor the tenth of July of that same year by the *Justicia* and the city council of Vera Cruz, shortly after the establishment of this city through the efforts of Cortés and his friends. In his possession also was the second letter of Cortés, dated October 30, 1520, and sent to Spain March 5, 1521, that notable document in which the intrepid conquistador tells of his escape from the city of Mexico during the *Noche Triste* (June 30, 1520). The conversations would also turn to the latest reports that had arrived in Europe about the final fall of that city of wonders, Temixtitán, now under the rule of Cortés since the thirteenth of August, 1521, in the siege of which "more Indians fell than Jews in Jerusalem when it was destroyed by Vespasian."

On the twenty-second of July, 1522, the Emperor and the three friars of Ghent arrived at Santander. More news of conquests in the New World kindled the enthusiasm of the future missionaries during their sojourn in Spain. The fifteenth of May Cortés had sent to the Emperor his third *Carta-Relación* telling him not only of his capture of the Aztec capital, but also of the work in progress toward the building of the new city to take its place, and of further explorations and conquests being carried out by his captains and troops of friendly Indians. About that time also there arrived in Spain two personal envoys of Cortés to see the Emperor: Alonso de Avila and Antonio de Quiñones, the former bringing with him a treasure of Aztec gems, formerly belonging to Moctezuma (and which were confiscated on the high seas by

the French pirates commanded by Juan Florin). The Emperor, after hearing the marvelous accounts of Cortés' exploits, on the fifteenth of October, 1522, granted him the office of Governor and Captain-General of New Spain and its provinces, "for the propagation of our Holy Catholic Faith and the salvation of the souls of the Indians."

Allured by the bright promise of this new field and every new report increasing their wishes to begin missionary work, Fray Pedro and his companions embarked in Seville the first of May, 1523, and arrived safely at Vera Cruz the thirteenth of August. From there they undertook the journey, through valleys and high mountains, through rain and snow, to the high tableland of Mexico. They visited first the new Capital, built on the same spot where the famous Tenochtitlán, the destroyed city, had been, and then withdrew to the nearby city of Texcoco, now under the rule of a grandson of the famous king Netzahualcóyotl, Ixtlilxóchitl, whose brother had fought by the side of the Spaniards. They were given lodgings in the palace of the ruler, and soon devoted themselves to the study of the language and the customs of the Indians.

Shortly after nine months had passed, news came of the arrival from Spain of Fray Martin de Valencia and his twelve Franciscan missionaries to propagate the faith in New Spain. In June, 1524, the three Franciscan pioneers, together with Cortés and Ixtlilxóchitl, received this band of apostles. The new Franciscan community, to which Fray Pedro and his companions now belonged, was governed by the venerable Fray Martin.

II. *Missionary and Educator of the Indians*

'The study of the language of the Indians had been, from the day of their arrival, of paramount importance to Fray Pedro and his companions. It was the basis for their future educational labors. Thus Fray Juan de Tecto could say, in answer to the inquiries of the new missionaries about their preliminary activities: "We are learning a new theology that was unknown to St. Augustine," that is, the language of those to whom they were to preach. But they did more than this. In 1523 Fray Pedro had already established the first school of European culture in the New World, the first, also, devoted to the Indians. At the same time he had won the heart of the native ruler of Texcoco, and those of his relatives and subjects. He instructed them in the Christian doctrine and so prepared them for the faith that when

Fray Martín arrived, he was able to baptize them in due form, according to their request. With tears and extraordinary devotion these new Christians, prepared by Fray Pedro, heard the first mass said by the Superior Fray Martín, according to the testimony of one of the descendants of the native ruler, Don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl (*Obras Históricas*, I. pp. 398-399).

Shortly afterwards, Fray Pedro saw himself separated from his friends Fray Juan de Tecto and Fray Juan de Ayora when Cortés took these two priests with him in his unfortunate expedition to the Hibueras, where they succumbed "in the service of the Lord and overwhelmed with hardships," as Fray Pedro himself wrote years later to Charles V in his letters of October 31, 1532, and February 15, 1552. From then on Fray Pedro found that his lifework, his heart's pleasure, consisted in furthering educational activities. To them he gave his heart and soul in the three years and a half that he lived in Texcoco: first in the household of the native ruler, later in the place where he built his chapel, now the entrance to the main church.

Towards the end of 1526 or the beginning of 1527 Fray Pedro, in search of a more adequate field for his endeavors, moved his residence to the city of Mexico, where, through his efforts, "the chapel of the natives, dedicated to San José de Belén," was built. This chapel adjoined the Franciscan church and was the second erected through his good offices, the first being the one at the old Tenoxtitlán, "the first church built in this country," as he said in his letter of 1552 to Charles V. By the new chapel stood a school building into which Fray Pedro put all his heart and devotion. Great must have been the difficulties surmounted by this brave Franciscan to have been able to impart his teachings to his charges in the native language, for he stuttered. But this natural defect was no obstacle to his zeal, for he talked to them also through the language of love and understanding.

The Indians, timidly perhaps, but full of hope and gladness, came to receive Fray Pedro's kindly teachings. After a time all this was changed. The Indian boys were brought forcefully by soldiers, from places many leagues distant, tied up like wild animals, and set loose on the school premises, where they, finding exits barred, ran madly about trembling and crying. This was done by order of the captain Don Hernando who years before had appropriated to himself the native city and who now ruled that the young sons of the old chiefs must receive instruction in

the Christian religion and in Spanish culture in accordance with the old order of King Fernando (*Cédula de Valladolid*, January 23, 1513), commanding that the sons of the caciques, when thirteen years old, should be delivered to the Franciscan friars for instruction. This state of affairs brought great pain to the fatherly Fray Pedro. He related such doings in a letter to Philip II (October 23, 1558) and wanted him to know "the many hardships endured by the poor friars in such circumstances, with such strange innovations towards people who could not understand." These conditions lasted over three years, during which Fray Pedro was tempted many times to return to his native Flanders; but patience and prayer gave him courage, and later he wrote to his Franciscan brothers in Flanders about his decision to persevere in his labors: "The Lord guided and delivered me! Blessed be He forever and ever!"

Outstanding in the missionary and educational methods of Fray Pedro were his intense love for the Indians and his efforts to understand their psychology. "By the grace of God," says he, "I began to know and understand their condition and qualities and the manner in which I must behave towards them." Realizing that the adoration of their old gods was performed by a ritual of songs and dances, he composed for his neophytes "very solemn verses about the commandments of God and the Christian faith" to be sung at the services. Song, poetry, Bible history, the mysteries of the Church, all were brought into play by Fray Pedro in shaping the minds and hearts of his pupils. He even designed a number of colorful costumes ("liveries"—*libreas*—he called them) for their dances in the festivities of Christmas "for such had been their usage, and as the dances and the songs varied, so they dressed differently in garbs of mourning or of joy or of victory." Thus employing their arts, dances, poetry and music he brought to the Indians a new religion of peace and love to take the place of their old religion of cruelty and fear. The Indians came to Fray Pedro now, not by force and led by the soldiers, but willingly, joyfully and in such numbers that they overflowed the church and filled the adjoining yards during the church festivals, as he related years later in his letter to Philip II (June 23, 1558).

His activities were so many that he could write to his brothers of Ghent:

By the mercy of God and for His honor and glory, in this province of Mexico (which is another Rome) where I reside, I have built, with my indus-

try and the favor of God, over one hundred houses dedicated to the Lord, including churches and chapels, some of them being as magnificent as befits the divine services: not less than three hundred feet (*tercias*), and others two hundred.

Thus did Fray Pedro bring education, both religious and civic, to the Indians, and thus did he save them from the material and political destruction which they had just experienced. For the churches, in his purposes, were nothing else than an instrument of education.

My office, says he in the letter just mentioned, is to preach and to teach day and night. By day I teach to read, to write and to sing: by night I read Christian doctrine and preach.

To teach the Indians how to read and write meant, on the other hand, to instruct them in the rudiments of Castilian, and as a step to this end, since the only form of writing known by them was that of hieroglyphics, Pedro, like the rest of the early missionaries, made use of this system. Not few of the early Catechisms were composed in hieroglyphics, as is attested by several authorities. The Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid has a *Catecismo de la doctrina cristiana en jeroglíficos para la enseñanza de los niños mexicanos* which belonged to Fray Pedro de Gante. In this we find a further proof that the Flemish friar resorted to every means possible to lend objectivity to his teachings and that he gave due regard to the mental condition of his pupils.

In these labors, he was aided by a venerable old priest, Fray Juan Caro, of whom Mendieta says (*Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*, Book 4, chapter 14) that "without knowing a word of the Aztec language he spent his days teaching the boys the rules of singing in Spanish" and that "they listened to him attentively with open mouths trying to understand his meaning until they mastered not only the plain song, but also the organ-chant." This knowledge was spread to the other churches by the most proficient of the pupils. They were taught also by the good friars to play and manufacture musical instruments, such as flutes, lutes, cornets, etc., and occasionally church organs, according to Motolinia and Mendieta. For their feasts and rejoicings they had "guitars, lyres, cithers, dulcimers, discants, harps and monochords." Such was the knowledge in music acquired by the Indians, that, says Mendieta, "in a few years they began to compose original carols in organ-chant, for four voices, and even masses." Of all this progress Fray Pedro informed Charles V (letter of 1532) saying:

These people are fairly skillful and we have utilized their ability so that now I can say truthfully that we have good notaries, preachers, fervent in-

structors and singers, who well could sing in Your Majesty's chapel, and so perfectly that perhaps it cannot be believed without seeing it.

So that the pupils could understand and sing the songs of the liturgy, Fray Pedro engaged a French friar, Fray Arnaldo de Basacio, to teach them Latin.

Untiring in his efforts, this apostle, whom Mendieta calls "the great servant of the Lord and famous lay-brother Fray Pedro de Gante, first and foremost teacher and industrious tutor of the Indians," made of his school a true *seminary*, a nursery—the origin and beginning of all sorts of occupations, "not only of those pertaining to the service of the church, but also of the secular trades," for while he taught the children the Christian doctrine, "to read, to write, and to sing," he also taught the older boys those arts and crafts of the Spaniards which their ancestors never knew, and perfected them in those they already possessed. For this purpose he had set apart certain sections of his school, where he made them acquire practice, first in the most common trades, as those of tailor, shoemaker, carpenter and similar ones, then in those of greater difficulty.

Thus he instilled new faith and hope into the hearts of the poor Indians who, as Mendieta remarks, were "overawed and frightened with the memory of the recent war, of the many killed, of their destroyed towns, and wondered at such a sudden change—so different in every way."

Many were the arts taught through the efforts of Fray Pedro, among others, embroidery and design, so that the investigator, Dr. Robert Ricard, could say of him that "omnes artes illis ostendit" for "nullius enim nescius erat." More worthy of note is the fact that in all the activities of the school he taught children as children, the adults as adults, engaging the latter in trades—that of blacksmith for example—requiring physical strength and development, thus anticipating many modern educators. He saw the need of forming homogeneous groups among his pupils and adapted each one of them to the type, degree, quality, and kind of education most suited to him. This education was not a mass of incoherent teachings, but a system of ideas and sentiments regulating the practical side of life, inspired as they were by the new religion of love and mercy. First came the study of the language, reading and writing, in which the pupils found a common denominator of their thoughts; then the material exercises and occupations intended to make them self dependent.

Out of this school came forth bands of artisans spreading the new culture: masons, who filled the country with artistic churches and residences built in the Spanish style; sculptors who made statues of saints, both of wood and of stone, widely admired in New Spain and abroad; carvers, who worked on altars and produced pulpits, confessional, crosses, candelabra, church stalls, church doors, and many other objects—sometimes with no other instrument than a bad knife—admired today by the lovers of art; designers and painters who copied the works of Spanish and Flemish artists. Not all of them were perfect, it is true—the colonial art of Mexico was to bloom later—but Fray Pedro had spread generously the seed of Mexican culture in the middle of the sixteenth century.

Fray Pedro had also a distinguished group of pupils: the sons of the old lords whom he taught and prepared for future posts in the colonial government, and they became as he said “judges of the towns, *alcaldes*, and *regidores*.” By this means he co-operated in the policy established by Cortés of having the Indians take part in their own government.

The educational system of Fray Pedro comprised, then: primary school, secondary school, industrial school, and all together a school of Christian life where the young men were prepared to be good husbands and fathers and useful to their country and families; a school where the new religion, the new civic virtues, the fine arts and the humble crafts, classical and modern languages were taught. A model *school of action*, as we would call it in Mexico, was this, two centuries and a half before John Henry Pestalozzi (1746-1827) began his reform of education by means of action, and three centuries before Frederich Froebel (1782-1852) upheld that “human beings must be directed from their earliest youth to a productive activity” and that “they must be led to think of their bodily activities in relation to their spiritual life.” It was four centuries after Fray Pedro that John Dewey formulated his philosophy of education, pragmatic as well as democratic. Pragmatic and democratic also was the education imparted by Fray Pedro, but the latter combined it also with a new ideal of faith and religion where work, mutual service, and understanding were paramount.

It was because of this new ideal that the school of Fray Pedro had to a certain extent the character of a normal school. Thus he stated in his letter of 1529:

I have chosen some fifty of the brightest pupils and each week I instruct

them in what they must do and preach the following Sunday. I spend much time day and night in composing and coördinating their sermons. On Sundays they go out to preach throughout the city and all its districts to distances of four, eight, ten, twenty, or thirty leagues preaching the Catholic faith and preparing the minds of the people with their doctrine.

They themselves made their *projects*, proposed to themselves their *problems*, and by themselves faced the unexpected difficulties and worked out their solution.

Just as the work of Cortés was one of political and military coöperation with the Indians, that of Fray Pedro was a spiritual coöperation to bring about their conversion and education. Fray Pedro was a true educator, not only because he understood that to educate is to free from ignorance and base passions and from all that enslaves human beings—just as Plato understood it and taught it—but also because he accomplished these ends through love. He knew well that one cannot educate without studying and understanding those to be educated, their material, spiritual, and moral conditions, their customs, language, and psychology.

The efforts of this admirable educator could not fail to include also the sick and the physically disabled, so numerous in the years following the conquest. For them he built a hospital where as many as four hundred patients were given care and instruction.

At all times he had at heart the interests and the welfare of the natives, and we can understand his sadness at the death of the great protector of the Indians, archbishop Fray Juan de Zumárraga. On this occasion he wrote to the Emperor Charles V (July 20, 1548):

For twenty-five years I have been in these parts in the service of God and of Your Majesty, with this habit of our father Saint Francis and in the company of these natives whom I consider my children, so that they look upon me as a father. And I inform Your Majesty that in all this time I have never been so sad as I am today, because God our Lord took to his eternal glory our blessed father, pastor and prelate, Fray Juan de Zumárraga, who was a true father to these natives, always protecting them and sheltering them underneath his wings. He was always a companion in my labors and I greatly lament his absence.

III. *Defender and Protector of the Indians*

In time the situation of the Indians became worse than during the first years after the conquest, not so hopeless nor prevalent as at first, but more acute and sorrowful in the regions where it existed.

In the touching letter that Fray Pedro wrote to Charles V (February 15, 1552) he pleaded thus the cause of the Indians:

Although at times I had the intention of informing Your Majesty fully about conditions here since I was the first to come and live and work with these natives, I failed to do it, intending to go in person to kiss your royal feet and to inform you about everything; but seeing that my going was delayed, that permission to go was denied me and that I was already old and near death, I determined to write this letter, so that if God sees fit to take me to Him, I shall discharge my conscience with Your Majesty, pleading as the representative of Christ, for the remedy of these recently converted souls, that they may receive help from Your Majesty and that their conversion and instruction may continue . . . And thus, I implore you that, as a pious ruler, you come to their aid; and do not allow them to be exterminated, as they are on the way to be unless help comes to them. Since these Indians of New Spain are subjects of Your Majesty, it is just that they be favored as such; we, of the religious orders, are in this land for their conversion and protection according to the wishes of Your Majesty, therefore, I make bold to beg for their remedy, for they were discovered for no other purpose than for their salvation.

Souls like that of Fray Pedro de Gante, could not conceive of any other purpose in discovering them.

Which salvation, he continues, is impossible in their present condition because they even lack time to look after their own sustenance, and thus they die of starvation and become extinct because of excessive work. Well do I believe that if the decrees that Your Majesty has sent here in their favor were obeyed, and if the governors and judges would not prevent their fulfillment, much good would come to these people.

Indeed the Emperor had ordered that the personal services demanded of the Indians should be done away with, but to no effect, for all or the majority of the Spaniards were opposed to it, as is attested by the Viceroy, don Luis de Velasco, in his letter to the Emperor (1553). Seeing this resistance Fray Pedro exhorted the Emperor to remedy matters, saying:

Unless this is done, with just reason Almighty God will complain. Since the past cannot be remedied it is just that measures be taken for the future, and that Your Majesty take steps to enforce the *Cédulas* sent here in regard to the personal services, because such services are the main cause of the destruction of these people.

Fray Pedro goes on describing with the most touching phrases the miserable condition of the Indians,

. . . compelled to serve their master in Mexico, he says, even though they were not living in that city, and to provide him with other Indian servants and tribute of hay, wood, zacate and chickens, things which they did not have in their home towns. It happens that they leave their homes and cannot return for a month, because during this time they must purchase with their work all that is demanded of them. Thus these poor people go about exhausted day and night trying to procure it, and are maltreated by many people: by negro slaves and by servants who, instead of feeding them, abuse them cruelly in word and deed. Blows and slaps and beatings are frequent, and for this reason they flee to the mountains. Your Majesty must know that

these Indian servants, compelled by this service to abandon their families and enduring such bad treatment, are gradually diminishing like the bread that is eaten every day. For the love of our Lord may Your Majesty take pity on them and consider what must be the lot of the poor Indian woman who is left at home and has no one to support her and her children.

Greatly resenting that the Indians were compelled to pay tribute of goods which they did not own, Fray Pedro said to the King,

If Your Majesty does not arrange that they pay tribute as in Spain, of that which they have and no more, and that they be not enslaved, this land will be lost and thirty years from now it will be more depopulated than the Islands (Antilles) and there will be many souls lost, and the conscience of Your Majesty will be burdened. I again implore Your Majesty to look after your flock like a good shepherd. Consider that Christ, our Redeemer, did not come to shed His blood for their taxes, but for their souls. A soul saved is worth more than all the world of temporal things.

He continues comparing these days with the days gone by.

It has been a great sadness for my soul to see the good that was done at the beginning and how it has vanished now. The churches, formerly filled with people, now are not even half full. And this, because Sundays and holidays must be spent procuring things to pay tribute. This can well be believed, for many of these people have nothing else to eat but roots and grass.

He goes on to point out another evil that aggravated the condition of these unfortunates:

They make these Indians hire themselves against their will. When it is the Indian's time to serve he comes to the city, from a distance of ten leagues, while his wife and children remain at home dying of hunger. He is in Mexico City waiting to be hired and after he has been hired, they give him twelve *maravedis* a day; so that he serves for nothing, because he has to feed himself with this money. The Indian is away from his home for a month, and when he goes back he has worked for nothing, has sold his clothes and has his field uncultivated. . . And with the tribute, the personal service, and the forced neglect of his field, he is compelled to leave his house, and go away. For the love of our Lord! Let Your Majesty not permit such great cruelty and provide for the liberation of these Indians.

The misfortunes of the Indians, observed with so much sorrow by Fray Pedro and related by him in this letter, so to speak, with sobs and tears, did not stop there. He continues:

In every town ten leagues around the city of Mexico, each Indian must bring a load of fire-wood; and the truth of it and the damage to the Indian is that he spends two days in cutting it and bringing it to the city and another day or two in returning home. And after he comes loaded and tired and has used for his maintenance the few provisions at his home, they give him half a *real* for his load, while he spent one for his food and has nothing to show for his work. Oh, what a great cruelty! Subjects of Your Majesty are they! The blood of Christ was their price! They have taken away their possessions! Right it is for Your Majesty to take pity on them!

Not all Indians had their possessions taken away, not the

Tlaxcaltecs, the allies of the Spaniards in the capture of Mexico, nor others who helped them in their conquests, nor the chieftains (caciques). It must be said also that almost every Spanish monarch had sent many *cédulas* or decrees ordering that the properties and possessions of the Indians, even when not protected by any title, should be respected, to which must be added that most of the Indians had no individual property before the conquest. But Fray Pedro, who had not seen the pitiful condition in which thousands and thousands of Indians were in the prehispanic period, and who saw only the misery of the natives in his time, complained of their wretched poverty and especially of the injustices suffered by those who were only serfs, and who, not being entrusted to anyone's care, had no one to speak for them.

Fray Pedro complained also of other evils: of the wretched condition of the workers of the mines, and of the lawsuits exploiting the natives. He asked the King to remedy these evils:

Let not Your Majesty consent that the miners be locked up so they may not come to ask for their freedom . . . nor that there be lawsuits between Indians, for all this is full of corruption; they do not seem to deal but in lawsuits, and the lawyers . . . for a trifling start a lawsuit; and for a little land which is worth almost nothing, they spend the goods and possessions of the town in the suits, and spend three and four years in them.

Up to now, he continues, their differences were settled by us, the missionaries; and in one day we made them agree and make peace, so that all remained satisfied, but since the Spaniards—not the Spaniards, we must interpret, for among them were many just and charitable ones, but the intriguers, those without pity, of which no nation is free—have put into their heads that it is better to have lawsuits, they harm them and deceive them in order to take advantage of them under the pretext that they are helping them. And the town chiefs, with the excuse of the lawsuits, eat and drink and spend out of the funds of the town and out of the work of the poor. And all is lost; and with the lawsuits we see every day fights and deaths.

The condition of those who lived in the city of Mexico, Fray Pedro added, was perhaps more unfortunate, because having no lands or wood or any other possessions, they were compelled to work without pay in the households of the government officials, who did not even provide them with food. This had to be brought to them by their wives or children. Besides, they had to pay tribute every eighty days.

How could all this happen? one may ask, when already on the twelfth of July of 1530 the Empress Isabel had decreed that "henceforward no one can be made a slave through any means or cause," and when the Emperor had approved the *New Laws*, (November 20, 1542), which forbade the enslaving of the In-

dians and their employment against their will. Also, the twentieth of March, 1532, the same Empress, Isabel, had sent a *cédula* to the President and Oidores of the Audiencia of New Spain, adopting measures for the protection of the Indians and severe punishment for those who mistreated them. Why, then, did these evils of which Fray Pedro complained persist?

The best answer to these questions has been given by several writers, among others by the author of the introduction to the *Diccionario Autobiográfico de conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España*, D. Francisco A. de Icaza. He says: "The conquest of America was not the work of the Spanish crown . . . but the undertaking of private individuals recognized and endorsed by the kings by virtue of agreements based on consummated facts. The discoveries and conquests were made without previous permission from the monarch. The conquerors risked in the undertaking all they had: the rich, their fortunes; those in moderate circumstances, the small amounts obtained by loans for the purchase of arms; and the plain adventurers and poor, their lives." This fact is attested particularly in the accounts of the conquest of Mexico. Cortés points it out also in his second and third letters to Charles V.

Hence, the conquerors felt themselves lawful owners of all that they had conquered. They considered the royal *cédulas*, especially the *New Laws*, a hindrance to their full exploitation of the riches of the country, more so since there were no beasts of burden or conveyances for developing the land. Since the crown owed the possession of this land to them and their campaigns, it seemed only right to them that they should have the fruits of their efforts.

Consequently, the liveliest protests arose in all of Spanish America against these *New Laws* and against the *cédulas* adopted before them. In Peru they organized an open rebellion to overthrow these orders. In the war that ensued, the conquerors proved that they were stronger than the royal powers. They continued their former practices and consequently the state of the Indians was more wretched than before. Thus, the *New Laws* were reduced to a dead letter.

That this did not happen in Mexico was due to the prudence and ability of its government officials, especially of the Viceroy, don Antonio de Mendoza, who, enforcing part of the *New Laws* and allowing another part to be modified, defended the Indians, although he was far from remedying all evils. Many of these

were the natural result of human greed. For this reason, the evils of which Fray Pedro complained did not disappear fully. Stamped out in certain places, they sprouted again in others, confirming the fact that life is a perennial combat in which greed and violence, at times seemingly extinguished, reappear like the weeds in the fields.

With the new poverty of the Indians, how could they contribute to the support of the school of their new educator and friend, especially since many of them had reached the point of not having the bare necessities of life? In 1532, Fray Pedro asked the King for "two or three thousand measures of corn each year, a thousand for the school and a thousand for the hospital and patients," adding that the Indians helped the school with all the means at their disposal. But twenty years later, in 1552, the natives being unable to offer their support, he wrote the King:

It would be meet that Your merciful Majesty help these Indians and the aforesaid school with five or six hundred pesos each year . . . without this help it will be lost; it is just that such favor be granted me, in consideration of the long time I have worked among them and of my intention of spending the rest of my life in their instruction.

To relate in detail the many ways in which Fray Pedro helped and defended the Indians would fill many pages. Suffice it to say that during his life he took a prominent part in every work of charity and protection for the Indians in Mexico.

Such was Fray Pedro: a humble worker in the conversion and instruction of the Indians who in spite of his education and culture, several times refused the offers of his Order and of the Pope to be ordained a priest, preferring to work in the lowly capacity of a lay-brother.

He died when he was over ninety years of age, in April, 1572. Of this long and fruitful life, he spent forty-eight years and seven months in Mexico. He was buried in the chapel of "San José de Belén de los naturales" and his funeral was attended, according to Mendieta, by a great multitude of Indians, who lamented his loss and wore mourning for him as for a father, and who for many years commemorated the anniversary of his death with appropriate rites and prayers.

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RISE AND DECLINE OF GERMAN EXPRESSIONISM

IN the broadest sense of the word we understand by expressionism every art which, in contrast to impressionism depicting sensations and reactions from the outer world, expresses the feelings, ideas, dreams, and visions of the inner world, man's soul. In a narrower sense we mean by it the cultural movement starting in Europe around 1910, reaching its climax around 1920 and rapidly decaying since then.

Expressionism as a cultural movement was by no means restricted to the field of literature. It was meant to bring about a radical change in the whole realm of human endeavors: in art, literature, ethics, philosophy, social and political life. It was an emotional upheaval against the standards of the time which may be described as mechanism, materialism and ethical relativity. The banner bearers of this movement in Germany were the generation born around 1890. Young, idealistic, filled with the impetuous urge to help, this generation declared a holy war against materialism in whatever disguise they found it: in politics, social, industrial and business life, in art and philosophy, in morals and even in religion. Wherever they turned their eyes they detected the same evil: accumulation of material wealth instead of inner values, technicians instead of interpreters, journalists instead of poets, machine production instead of individual creativeness, numbers instead of spiritual forces. But where in all this world was there a place for man not as a wheel in the whole machinery, but as the possessor of an individual soul yearning towards the realization of its faculties, dreams and aspirations? Apparently nowhere. They were alone, deceived, betrayed; they felt that the very best in them, namely their spiritual aspirations could not be satisfied. A world of this kind, the Pandora present of western materialistic civilization, seemed all wrong to them. The sooner it came to an end the better it would be. Thus this young generation, unbridled and unyielding like the impetuous geniuses of the famous *Storm and Stress* in the eighteenth century, but animated by a deep understanding of the spiritual needs of the time, began their cultural crusade, convinced that they could radically change the whole situation and conquer a new meaning for their empty and senseless lives through the magic power of the word alone.

Some of these radical youths, activists like Franz Pfemfert, Kurt Hiller, and Ludwig Rubiner joined the communists, passionately emphasizing the necessity of a social and political revolution as the only effective means towards the *Aufbruch zum Paradies*,

a world without class distinctions, governed by the *Ratio* of justice and peace. They conceived literature, art, and music as subordinate to politics, they thought of the creative individual only as a servant of the *Weltgemeinschaft*. Art was submerged in the ocean of politics. Pacification of the world was to be obtained through the *activism of the word*.

By far the most important of these young *Stormers and Stressers*, however, despised politics from the very outset. They did not believe that salvation would come from a change of the political and economic order. What they wanted was an inner change, a revolution of the hearts. Like the *activists* they tried to reach this goal through the means of art. For them, too, art was not an end in itself. They hated the impressionistic *l'art pour l'art* with the same vehemence as the *activists*, but they differed from them in taking as their goal not politics, but morality, not revolution, but redemption. They did not expect help from this world, but from God alone. Their ultimate goal was religious: pacification of the world through the word of God by eliminating the last vestige of egotism in the recesses of the human heart. Lyric poetry, drama and music seemed to them best fitted for this purpose. Lyric poetry comes from the heart and speaks to the heart. In its highest form it always borders on the realm of religion. The stage which in all creative periods of human history had been used as a pulpit from which the great geniuses taught mankind their loftiest conceptions of life and death was now transformed into a *moralische Anstalt* in conscious agreement with Schiller's high estimate of this institution. Thus art became again an educational power. It received an ethical and religious pathos. Its purpose was no longer to entertain and amuse, but to rise to the eternal values of life. The poet assumed again the role of educator and priest as in former times and by showing the vision of a new life he became a real prophet. Poetry and religion, these twin sisters of ancient times and of romanticism joined hands again. It seemed as if the spirit of Klopstock, young Schiller and the early romantics had arisen from the tomb of the past and had experienced a glorious resurrection in the heroic atmosphere of Nietzsche's philosophy of will, transfigured, however, through the golden light of Christ's gospel of sacrifice and love.

This change did not take place at once. It developed slowly under the surface of the times in the whole of Europe, but it was in Germany that it reached its logical climax owing to the war and the post-war conditions. The movement was already fore-

shadowed in the early eighteenth century by the ingenious George Büchner (*Dantons Tod, Woyzeck*) and the grotesque monomaniac Christian Dietrich Grabbe (*Don Juan und Faust*), and at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries by the deeply searching Frank Wedekind (*Frühlings Erwachen, Franziska*). The direct impulse, however, came from foreign countries, as had been the case with naturalism, too. But while for naturalism France (Balzac, the Goncourts, Zola) and Norway (the Ibsen of the social plays) were the chief contributors, it was now Sweden (through Strindberg's *Nach Damaskus* and *Kammerspiele*) and Russia (mainly through Dostojewskij) which were influential in the shaping of German expressionism. This apparently curious fact can be easily explained. Naturalism was essentially socially minded. Its chief problem was the maladjustment of individual and society as a result of unsatisfactory hereditary and social conditions. Expressionism is chiefly concerned with the problems of man's inner life, it is essentially religious. Since religious problems did not play any decisive part in the works of the above mentioned German expressionistic forerunners, nor in those of the French writers and of the social Ibsen, it was natural that the expressionists had to look elsewhere for religious inspiration. They found it in the later Strindberg, in Dostojewskij, Tolstoi, and even in the Ibsen of the last period who in his *Baumeister Solness* and *Wenn wir Toten erwachen* had become thoroughly mystic, as most great writers do at the end of their lives.

This longing for religion is characteristic of the finer organized minds around 1900. With skeptical precaution it moves like a *Leitmotiv* through the whole work of Gerhart Hauptmann and it permeates the otherwise refreshingly realistic novels of Hermann Stehr with that heavenly air of mysticism which lifts even the most earthy of his characters to lofty heights. In expressionism religion becomes the dominant factor. The churches are by no means responsible for this phenomenon. They stood aloof in dogmatic complacency. The new religiosity, strange as it may seem, is born from the spirit of revived metaphysics for which life as a whole, its origin, meaning and purpose had again become the problem of problems. Rudolf Eucken, the great antagonist of Ernst Haeckel, Wilhelm Dilthey, the spirited founder of the "geisteswissenschaftliche Methode", Ernst Trölsch, Wilhelm Windelband, Edmund Husserl, and Heinrich Rickert, had re-established the independence of the "geistige Welt" which crude materialism had denied. These modern German thinkers together

with the ingenious French philosopher Henri Bergson, who again is deeply indebted to German romantic philosophy, paved the way for a new understanding of the metaphysical world by showing in intuition the true instrument through which it could be approached and reached. Partly under the influence of these men, partly also under the influence of the great German philosophers and mystics of the nineteenth century (Fichte, Schleiermacher, Hegel, Novalis), men like Max Scheler, Hans Driesch, Leopold Ziegler, Walther Rathenau, Graf Keyserling, Martin Buber, Oswald Spengler created a new idealism by setting up new standards of values, in a word, a new *ethos*. Their ideal was *the new man, der neue Mensch* whose highest goal in life was no longer power, money or success, but selfrealization through the application of free will and the inborn spiritual forces. Outer life, formerly the tyrant of the individual, could now be mastered again, since it had been discovered that man's soul is rooted in a deeper spiritual world from which it received a central unity and the consciousness of its superiority over the world of hostile facts and things. A new freedom had been won and with it a new dignity. Life had been given a new meaning, since God had been reborn in man.

This state of mind had gradually developed in the years preceding the war. This fact cannot be sufficiently stressed, for it shows that an inner revolution had already started at a time when not even the most optimistic socialist dared to dream of a social or political revolt. Of course, it had not reached the masses. It was the possession of a few highly sensitive individuals. But when the war broke out and the values of external goods became doubtful, even the masses were seized by the same religious fervor. The individuals stood no longer in painful isolation, they became the speakers and prophets of a new, religiously united community. Can we wonder, therefore, that many of these idealists, over enthusiastic about their mission, took themselves too seriously, promised more than they could carry out and indulged in words beyond their human and artistic capacities? There is often more smoke than fire in their works, more pathetic gesture than strong artistic energy. There is rhetoric, bombast, a tendency to exaggeration and unpleasant moralizations, there is rudeness, ugliness and even a bit of that intellectual conceitedness which they so emphatically fought against. But in spite of all this, these young men and women had a vision. It is the vision of what they called "*der neue Mensch*," too, and for this they deserve our respect and

gratitude. For there is something in this vision which we all should apply to our own lives; its ethical and religious content has a message for us, regardless whether we like the form in which it is presented or not.

What now is this *neue Mensch*? It is the man who knows that there is a divine spark in him which links him to the infinite power from which he receives freedom and strength. He is the man in harmony with God. He is, as Franz Werfel so characteristically interprets him, *persona*, the trumpet through which God's breath resounds. This new man is an ecstatic fighter, not a pathological fatalist or a cynic *Bonvivant* as was the case in the naturalistic and impressionistic dramas. He fights against men and institutions wherever their materialistic conceptions are blocking the way for God's entrance into life.

From this vision of the new man arise new problems for which the former literary movements had only little understanding. Of these I will mention only four.

First of all, we have to consider the problem of the younger and older generation. To be sure, it had been dealt with by Hauptmann in his *Friedensfest*, *Einsame Menschen*, and *Michael Kramer*, by Sudermann in his *Ehre* and *Heimat*, and by Wedekind in his *Frühlings Erwachen*. But these men had approached it from a mere social standpoint. Social maladjustment, narrowminded conventionalism as a result of special class or age prejudices or pathological nerve conditions were chiefly responsible for the gulf between fathers and sons, mothers and daughters. Change the social surroundings through better education or through sanitary improvements, and there is no problem left.

The expressionists see deeper. According to them, the difference between the young and old people is due to the inherent duality of life itself. Thus both generations are eternally hostile as manifestations of life's unsolved dualism. The younger generation is right because it belongs to the future and has a longing for purer ideals. As the older generation endeavors to preserve its obsolete ideas it becomes the natural enemy of sons and daughters. This, however, means a combat. The expressionistic dramatists who especially emphasized this problem are Walter Hasenclever in *Der Sohn*, Rolf Lauckner in *Predigt in Lithauen*, Hanns Johst in *Der junge Mensch*. Bötticher, Burte and von der Goltz show the same problem in the tragic struggle between Frederick the Great and his unyielding soldier father. Among the novelists it is Franz

Werfel who gave the most impressive presentation of this problem in his *Nicht der Mörder, der Ermordete ist schuldig*.

Another favorite problem deals with the individual in his relation to conventional morality. In naturalism and impressionism it usually appeared in the formula of the man between two women. It is treated as a social problem again. It occurs when the unsatisfied husband or wife looks beyond the matrimonial boundaries for an understanding soul, as in Hauptmann's *Einsame Menschen*, or when the cynic bachelor plays with the love of his sweethearts as in Schnitzler's dramas. In both cases the problem develops by accident, through an unforeseen meeting. For the expressionist it exists *a priori* through the fact that man and woman are only another manifestation of life's hostile polarity. Except for Wedekind and George Kaiser, who, only in a very restricted sense can be called expressionists, all the other exponents of the movement such as Sorge, Hasenclever, Werfel, Wildgans, Toller, and Unruh, bridge over the duality of the sexes by depicting rather the sisterly than the erotic aspect of woman's love. Instead of sex they show the soul among the pariahs of society, thus permitting even the social outlaw to participate in the resurrection of the new man and to find a way to final redemption.

The third of the above mentioned problems, that of the individual in his relation to the state and its institutions, such as school, militarism and bureaucracy, is used as a dramatic motive in many plays. School is depicted as a vampire sucking out happiness and originality from the students as in Hasenclever's *Der Sohn*, or it appears like a dungeon in whose sulky atmosphere originally healthy instincts degenerate into repugnant perversions, or are led to adolescent and brutal crimes as is the case in Wedekind's *Frühlings Erwachen* and in Werfel's *Spiegelmensch*. There is scarcely an expressionistic writer who has a good word for the institution which taught him to read and to think. School has no understanding for the new man.

More passionate still than the attacks against school are those against militarism. They are especially serious when they come from a man belonging to an old aristocratic officer's family such as Fritz von Unruh, who sometimes has been called the Kleist of the expressionists. Unruh depicts in several forceful, although somewhat verbose dramas such as *Offiziere*, *Prinz Louis Ferdinand*, *Platz*, and *Ein Geschlecht* the deadening influence of the drilling ground upon thinking officers and the petrification of the whole cultural life under conceited and stupid bureaucracy. It is regretable

that this virile talent has not developed much beyond negative criticism and that his vision of the new man has not yet materialized in the drama promised years ago. More impressive, although less pretentious, is Toller's drama *Wandlung*, showing the transformation of an ardent patriotic soldier into a fervent apostle of peace and brotherly love, in a communistic coloring, to be sure.

The attack did not stop, however, at school, militarism and bureaucracy. It went further and was directed against the whole economic system, as symbolized in the demon machine. Thus developed the fourth problem: individual vs. machine civilization and capitalism. In Toller's *Maschinenstürmer* and especially in Georg Kaiser's two dramas *Gas I* and *Gas II* it found its most monumental expression. Here men are no longer human beings. They have become anonymous parts of the whole machine system, most of them indicated by mere numbers, some of them only by light effects.

The purest form of the type of the new man is to be found in Kornfeld's *Der brennende Dornbusch*, Werfel's *Spiegelmensch*, and Kaiser's *Bürger von Calais*, the last work being by far the most outstanding drama of German expressionism. It is its classical masterpiece, because it glorifies self sacrifice as the only means of conquering the evil of egotism and thus shows the way how a real moral world order can be established. Its leading character, Eustache de St. Pierre, who combines in his soul the Christian gospel of sacrifice with Kant's devotion to the categorical imperative of rigorous duty, is the noblest and purest personification of the idea of the new man, an eternal figure which leaves a most profound impression in every human heart.

The technique of the expressionistic drama is essentially different from the one used in the impressionistic drama. Since the characters are symbols of eternal values and qualities they appear as types, not as individuals. Mostly they have no individual names, but are merely indicated as *the mother*, *the father*, *the son*, and so on. In Gerhart Hauptmann's *Festspiel in deutschen Reimen*, which can be called an expressionistic drama before expressionism, the characters are represented by marionettes, which is virtually a revival of the old puppet play. As Christian and other religious virtues are often portrayed we witness also a revival of the miracle, mystery and passion plays.

The method of constructing the plays is synthetic in contrast to the procedure used in the naturalistic drama. The action evolves before our eyes with cinematographic rapidity and vehemence and

emanates from the characters themselves. No pains are taken to motivate the action through previous influences upon and experiences of the persons. They have, so to speak, no past. They are, and, as Werfel says, the world begins in them. Much emphasis is laid on self characterization which leads to the frequent use of monologues and long lyrical outbursts. Often, therefore, the line of demarcation between drama, lyric and rhetoric is difficult to draw. The language is powerful and passionate when the poet launches his attacks against his enemies, but sweet, gentle and humble when speaking of God. There is a tremendous dynamic force in its accusations, disregarding all the laws of beauty and harmony. The question is not to say things beautifully, but to tell the truth, therefore one cannot expect conventional beauty of these men. They have a disinclination against using articles, pronouns and prepositions. On the other hand, verbs and nouns, as linguistic symbols of activity and essence are especially emphasized. The style thus often takes the abrupt form of the telegram. In August Stramm's *Kräfte* this tendency is carried to such an extreme that there are no real sentences any more. Disconnected words, cries, exclamations, even unarticulated sounds and interjections follow in quick succession and transform the whole drama into an orgasm of dynamic forces. Here expressionism leads to complete artistic anarchy and virtually destroys itself.

It goes without saying that an art stressing so much the unreal and abstract needed a special stage where the persons could move unhampered by the distracting things. The abstract drama needed an abstract stage without real properties, merely indicating an imaginary space as a reflection of the eternal whose messengers men were supposed to be. Jessner and Piscator became the master minds of the expressionistic stage art, just as Max Reinhardt had been the genius of the impressionistic stage.

As mentioned above, the expressionistic movement started before the war. In 1920 it reached its climax, since then it decayed rapidly and came to an end as early as 1925. The reasons for this rapid decline are manifold. First of all it must be remembered that the stabilization of the political and above all the financial situation led to a greater feeling of security and contentment. The goods of the world regained their value and became objects at least to be reckoned with. Secondly, the young men had become older and most of them had outgrown their radicalism. Thirdly, a longing for form and aesthetic beauty which was so terribly neglected by the expressionists arose again.

The factor, however, which perhaps more than anything else contributed to the rapid downfall of expressionism was its own inner structure which no longer corresponded to the conceptions and ideas of the younger generation which had been born between 1900 and 1910 and for whom *Volk* and *Vaterland* had again become values for which it was worth living and dying. Expressionism, like *Storm and Stress*, like Klopstock, young Schiller, and the whole classic movement was international and cosmopolitan. It flew over the national boundaries with bold wings and dreamed of the establishment of a world republic in which the spirit of brotherhood, tolerance and justice was supposed to be the reflection of the real Christian spirit of love to all mankind. This dream was beautiful, but remained a dream. World politics after the war moved in the opposite direction. The war spirit had not really died out. Hostility and oppression were at work everywhere, and made themselves especially felt in Germany, which was held down by the brutal political and economic dictates of her former enemies. This generation could not afford the luxury of indulging in beautiful dreams of love and brotherhood. It was forced by necessity to become patriotic again, not in the old sense of militarism, but in a new love for the beauties of the fatherland, its meadows and forests, its streams and lakes, its hamlets and towns, its houses and churches, its customs, dances and folk songs, its national art, poetry and music. To a generation with such ideals, expressionism, with its manifest disregard of the national values, had nothing to offer. Almost overnight it was thrust aside and gave way to a new movement which is realistic and patriotic at the same time. This new realism, which is generally called *Neue Sachlichkeit*, but which would be much more adequately characterized as *magic* or even *mystic realism*, is far from being a revival of old naturalism which, to a certain extent, was cosmopolitan too, at least in tendency. It still retains the best of expressionism, its respect for the ethical and religious values and even the idea of the new man. It differs, however, from expressionism in so far as it aims to develop this new man first of all in the organic community of the fatherland, for it seems to be penetrated by the conviction that only he will contribute something worthwhile and stimulating to our world civilization who embodies the purest and best qualities of his own people.

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VALÉRY'S CONCEPTION OF LEONARDO

THE critics of Valéry warn us that it is useless to discuss the objective truth of his opinions of Leonardo. According to one of these critics, Jean Paulhan (in *NRF.*, February, 1929), the procedure which is the most contrary to that of Valéry is employed in M. B. Berenson's essay on Leonardo (*Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, 3d series). Mr. Berenson's interest is primarily in the work of art as a finished product, he has only a minor concern for the origin of it, whereas Valéry is fascinated by the problem of the artistic genesis: "j'avais la manie de n'aimer dans les œuvres que leur génération."

Thibaudet assures us that *l'Introduction à la Méthode* treats less the real Leonardo than the *William Shakespeare* of Hugo or *Le Poète Tragique* of Suarès reflect the real Shakespeare. Leonardo is for Valéry "un prétexte, un lieu en quelque sorte abstrait," a "créature de pensée—une conjecture relative à des termes fort généraux," a paradigmatic essence, that Valéry warns against confusing with "les débris extérieurs d'une personnalité évanouie." Leonardo is a deduction; almost nothing of what Valéry says must be taken as referring to him as he actually was, he is a mere "suggestion des méthodes que toute trouvaille implique." The poet imagines a man "de qui auraient paru des actions tellement distinctes, que si je viens à leur supposer une pensée, il n'y en aura pas de plus étendue;" he makes him function as "a pattern of intellectual life," he attributes to Leonardo all his own unsolved difficulties, the difficulties that Leonardo would have overcome if he had encountered them; he substitutes Leonardo's power for his own irresolutions; he mathematizes him. But, hard as Valéry tries to objectivize Leonardo, to detemporalize him, lift him into the rarefied air of the abstractions of method, to dis-empiricize him, one cannot fail to notice that Leonardo is for him preëminently the name for a psychological, rather than for a merely speculative problem. We are confronted with the old process of the formation of an ideology such as we see currently operating in the political sphere. Valéry is merely an example of that permanent mythologic function of the human mind on which he has so brilliantly written (*Petite Lettre sur les Mythes*).

From this viewpoint, the definitions that Valéry gives of his interpretations of Leonardo—*conjecture, prétexte, lieu abstrait*—are no longer valid. For him Leonardo is rather a myth, a symbol more than a category, an *idée-force* more than a con-

cept, the transvaluation of a personal problem into an historical name, than the formula of a scientific method. Valéry's Leonardo is not a pure figment of the mind, but is the outcome of the transvaluation of certain elements of judgments that have been passed on him.

The psychological and the speculative problems interplay and overlap each other. Valéry does not give to his interpretation a unitary direction; in a free game of digressions, he lets the psychological and the speculative motives come to a series of partial contacts, explanations, entanglements, and divorces. The Proteus-like quality of Leonardo's *Gedankenwelt* exercises its influence on the course of Valéry's reflections; and, although the intentions are rather more decisively oriented towards the speculative than towards the psychological, this latter element is, more than once, preponderant. It is a continuous contrast between a psychological symbol and a speculative category, that the delightfully whimsical fluidity of Valerian prose mirrors faithfully. The remarks on the utter futility of applying historical standards to Valéry's opinions hold unconditionally true when we are confronted with the speculative category labelled Leonardo; but we are entitled to examine the bases on which Valéry's vision of the Leonardo myth is founded.

Note et Digression (1919) shows clearly the shifting of Valéry's interest from the speculative to the psychological problem; but these problems still remain in the same relation of continuous interplay as when they appeared in the *Introduction à la Méthode* (1894). Rather than of a preponderance of the psychological factor it would perhaps be more exact to speak of an ideal precedence; penetration of the most apparent traits of Leonardo's character is rendered instrumental to the ascent into the sphere of philosophical consideration. Moreover, alternation and mutual encroachment of the two factors, the speculative and the psychological, is interrupted by Valéry's appreciation of Leonardo's scientific contributions, and by poetical re-creation of his artistic *Weltanschauung*. We have to deal with a very complex, and seemingly unsystematized mass of introspective observations, philosophic developments, historical statements, and lyrical flights.

Stimulative to critical antagonism is the usage that Valéry makes of Leonardo's fragments. Valéry is quite right in pointing out Leonardo's repugnance for physical love, his contempt for "le combat des sueurs, l'essoufflement des 'opranti,' une transfiguration en bêtes;" but where he runs aground is in his comment

on Leonardo's ideas of the soul and of death. He welds four fragments of Leonardo in a commentary which shows his imperfect knowledge of Renaissance technical terminology, and his insufficient comprehension of the texts. He disregards the multiplex meaning of the word "*anima*" in Leonardo, he passes lightly over Leonardo's debt to the neoplatonic conception of the soul as a body-building element, he does not pause to wonder whether Leonardo's notion of "*anima*" is analogous to, identical with, or divergent from the neoplatonic one, he utterly neglects the theory of the different functions of the soul in Renaissance doctrines, and does not trouble to consider whether Leonardo uses the word in the significance given to it in the philosophical terminology of the age. Leonardo, contrary to what Valéry says, while generally speaking of the soul as of a substance, in a different fragment from those which Valéry makes use of, points out that it is not the soul as substance that creates its body, but that this creation is to be attributed to one of its functions.

In science the value of Leonardo's method lies, according to Valéry, in the emission of an image, in the formation of a mental relationship between images, in imaginative logic. He sees "une notion fondamentale de la connaissance moderne du monde" in the following formula: "L'aria e piena d'infinte linee rette e radiose insieme intersegate e intessute sanza ochupatione luna dell'altra rapresentano aqualunque obietto lavera forma della lor chagione." In this formula we can observe a most typical concretion of Leonardo's method. It was reserved for Faraday, Valéry says, to rediscover in the physical sciences, Leonardo's procedure. He points out the line running from Leonardo to Clerk Maxwell and Lord Kelvin, the influence he exerted in the figuration of the modes of energy, the creation of a science for setting up hypotheses and models, the retrospective glory thrown on Leonardo by the experiences of Ader and Wright, the connection between the theory of Fresnel and the manuscripts of the Institut. Valéry fails to give due prominence to Leonardo's labours in the field of dynamics, yet dynamic researches are Leonardo's most original contributions, marking as they do a real caesura between old and new science as R. Marcolongo has recently shown, by bringing into prominence the discoveries of Leonardo in the domain of dynamics, and the importance of his developments of the occamist theory, and of his epochal reaction against Aristotelian physics.

The conventional myth of Leonardo provides Valéry with some

obvious contrasts and comparisons. Valéry's own Leonardo myth (*Note et Digression*) is a skillful transposition into ornate language of some commonplace qualifications. The antinomy between Apollo and Dionysus, of hoary nietszchean memory, does yeoman's duty. "Cet Apollon me ravissait au plus haut degré de moi-même. Quoi de plus séduisant qu'un dieu qui repousse le mystère, qui ne fonde pas sa puissance sur le trouble de nos sens: jamais pour Dyonisos ennemi plus délibéré, plus pur," etc. However, he struggles against the poison-gas of the cliché, only to succumb soon to the fascination of the verbal triad: *génie, originalité, universalité*. In the anxiety to avoid the pestiferous cliché he transforms the meaning of *universal* into that of *non-individual*, detached from the individual, "comme si une personne particulière n'y était pas attachée," and opens the way for some misconceptions. Such, for instance, is the statement that Leonardo is merely "un bel animal pensant," that he shows an entire "ignorance du théâtre et absence de prophétisme." But it is known that he took pleasure in making predictions, he even gave to riddles the form of prophecies, like the following one on football playing: "The skins of animals will cause men to break silence with great gnashing of teeth and violent cursing." Or the riddle on dice: "Vedrannosi l'ossa dei morti, con veloce moto, trattare la fortuna del suo motore." And mark that Valéry is handling concrete values, is not talking of the metaphysical Leonardo, but of the real Leonardo such as he sees him through the mist of the conventional myth, out of which he is fashioning his own myth. Valéry permits himself to be infected with the congenital disease of humankind: "Le mal de prendre une hypallage pour une découverte, une métaphore pour une démonstration." As for "l'ignorance du théâtre," if we open Solmi's collection of Leonardo's fragments, we find Leonardo's famous comparison between sculptor and painter, where he shows plainly his theatrical gift for presenting his own calling in the best light:

Lo scultore, nel far la sua opera . . . fa un esercizio meccanicissimo, accompagnato spesse volte da gran sudore, composto di polvere e convertito in fango, con la faccia impastata e tutto infarinato di polvere di marmo, che pare un fornajo—e coperto di minute scaglie, che pare gli sia fioccatto addosso. . . . Il pittore con grande agio siede dinanzi alla sua opera, ben vestito, e muove il lievissimo pennello con vari colori. È ornato di vestimenti come a lui piace, a l'abitazione sua piena di vaghe pitture e pulita, e accompagnata spesse volte di musiche e lettori di varie e belle opere . . .

In his effort to mythologize a myth, Valéry purges Leonardo of every love for glory, "briller à d'autres yeux, c'est en recevoir

un éclat de fausses piergeries." Compare this with Leonardo, "la fama sola leva al cielo perchè le cose virtuose sono amiche a Dio." Artificial and unfair is the parallel between *esprit de finesse* and *esprit de géométrie*, drawn by Valéry, between Leonardo and Pascal; and not only because, as has been remarked by a French critic, the dissociation between the two *esprits* is in Pascal not so thorough, complete, and continuous as Valéry claims. Valéry's unfairness to Pascal is due not only to his attitude towards religion, but also to his conception of history. He whole-heartedly agrees with Renan's opinion of the historical sciences, "petites sciences conjecturales, qui se défont sans cesse après s'être faites, et qu'on négligera dans cent ans. . . Un genre de recherches qui ne s'imposera jamais et qui restera toujours à l'état d'intéressantes considérations sur une réalité à jamais disparue." Consequently he wrenches Leonardo from time and space, and algebraizes him to a *combinaison régulière*: "Il ne semble pas, pour être compris, devoir se lier à une nation, à une tradition, à un groupe."

If we now examine the significance of the metaphysical category which Valéry labels "Leonardo" we discover a new content under the stereotyped attribution of universality. In the irradiation of this content, Leonardo is so infinitely potentialized that he wanes and disappears: here, in this supreme rarefaction, shorn of every contact and reference with space and time, he dies and is resurrected as the hypostatization of himself. The metaphysical Leonardo is for Valéry merely a name for the Kantian problem of "*transcendental apperception*," a designation for the synthesis *a priori*, for consciousness, without which, Kant says, "*würden wir ein so vielfarbiges verschiedenes Selbst haben, als wir Vorstellungen haben, deren wir bewusst sind.*" Valéry merely freshens the *Ur-frage* of Kant: "How are *a priori* judgments possible? On what is based the relationship between our ideas and objects?" We are in the very centre of Valéry's thought, a thick knot of interconnected problems is visible: the problem of attention, that of dreaming, that of the abnormal *états de conscience*. Valéry is haunted by the main problem of Kant; this is shown by the insistence with which he emphasizes mental lucidity, by the hypnotic fascination exerted on him by the problem of sleep (obliviation of lucidity), by the dissociation he makes between the empirical and the metaphysical *I* (between personality and consciousness); the scorn which he heaps on the concept of personality is equal to the anxious minuteness of the analysis which he devotes to that of consciousness: "La question mère est celle

de la connaissance." Other signs that his mind is obsessed with the Kantian problem are his rejection of Dionysism, his striving after a sort of Leibnitzian *caractéristique universelle*, the emergence in him of absolute idealism, his scepticism about history. Franz Rauhut was the first, I believe, to point out that the formulations of Valéry on the epistemologic problem are strikingly similar to those of Fichte. The emphasis placed on the positive role of the negative process of the *I*, of self-positing; the identification of positive and negative, the infinite self-generation of consciousness, the mere conditionality of the real, which (Fichte says), "ich setze meinem Ich bloss dadurch entgegen, dass ich betrachte es als ein solches, das ich wegdenken kann," are common traits to both. The parallel could be carried further. Rauhut is wrong, to my mind, when he asserts (F. Rauhut: *P. Valéry, Geist und Mythos*, München, 1931, p. 74) that the comparison is justified by the fact that Valéry, just as does Fichte, whose philosophy is the product of the *Humanitätsideal* of the *Aufklärung*, filtered through classicism and pre-romanticism, accentuates the romantically deepened conception of personality. But, in the first place, Valéry's conception of personality is entirely separated by him from that of consciousness, and, in the second place (as Rauhut claims elsewhere), Valéry's idea of God is identical with that of Nothingness. However Rauhut expounds with sharp exactness a coincidence between Fichte and Valéry when he shows that "die Setzung des Nicht-Ich im Ich und der Kampf des Ich gegen das Nicht-Ich haben bei Fichte denselben ethischen Zweck wie bei Valéry das Vorhandensein des 'hasard' und die Gymnastik des Geistes durch sein Ringen mit dem 'hasard'."

Absolute idealism has no solid foundation in Valéry, and is from the start polluted with pragmatism. The crisis, that was bound to be produced by the co-existence of the two trends, bursts out with full force. Valéry's recent *Auseinandersetzung* with Leonard (*Leonardo et les Philosophes*, 1929) is a document of this. The pragmatic trend has gained the upper hand and has carried itself through, mainly in Valéry's theory about poetry, the process of its composition, the role of imagination, the notion of the generative power of prosody, etc. His idealism has disgorged into the open pragmatic sea. Valéry has followed two parallel evolutions: while his poetry, starting from a lean, ascetic apollonism, has evolved towards Dionysism (*La Jeune Parque* is an *étape*), his philosophy has been turning from the epistemologic to the naturalistic pole. Leonardo represents, in this process, the

myth, the ideology, the fixed star witnessing Valéry's metamorphosis, in the immobility and the richness of meanings that are the privileges of the myth. He has fulfilled the function that Valéry assigns to such figments of the mind, which are more real and more effective than any tangible and concrete reality.

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CURIAL: AN IDEAL HALF-REALIZED

CURIAL e Güelfa is not one of the best known among Peninsular novels. We may admit at once that it has little significance for the history of the genre in the sense of founding a school or inspiring greater works. Cervantes, who mentions *Tirant lo Blanch* with appreciation, does not interest himself in *Curial*, and Menéndez y Pelayo remained content with a rather distant knowledge of the hero. The book itself was not easy to come by. But this year has remedied this defect with a prodigal hand. Not only have we now available the edition of Sres. Miquel i Planas and A. Par in the *Biblioteca Catalana*, with the nominal date of issue 1932, but Sr. Aramon i Serra has completed a popular three-volume edition in the attractive format of *Els Nostres Clàssics*, with clear type, standardized spelling, discreet introduction and notes, and fair cream covers. This edition will go far and will call the attention of the whole Catalan-reading public (which includes, I hope, all who claim the title of Hispanist) to a work that well merits their notice. For *Curial*, like *Tirant*, is a failure, but a failure more interesting than many successes. The two novels did not, indeed, establish the novel in Catalan literature, for that literature entered almost at once into its eclipse of three centuries, and the modern Catalan novel is a creation of purely modern conditions. They did not succeed, either of them, in being convincing romances, like the French *Lancelot* and *Tristan* or the Spanish and Portuguese *Amadis*. Such works attain their destined perfection by whole-hearted acceptance of a convention. No one supposes that they correspond to life at any epoch of the world's history. They are not lifelike, but they are consistent. Once we grant the chivalresque postulate (as why should we not for the duration of the entertainment?) *Lancelot*, *Tristan* and *Amadis* become credible and lively figures, along with their Guineveres, Isoldes and Orianas, and their Breuses sans Pitié and Morholts and Arcalauses. The good and the evil personages are all on the one plane of chivalresque virtue or vice. It is seldom that the author of *Amadis de Gaula* strays from this consistency, though he may not have maintained it with ease. The Peninsular genius for realism questioned the postulate. Prince Afonso, his patron, protested, not without reason, that an *Amadis* of flesh and blood would not have left Briolanja's passion unanswered, whatever his own attachment to Oriana, and so the botched alteration was made in Book I, chapter 40. Even the

author dallied with realism in his figure of Macandón, the squire of 70 years, who stands out in such relief that scholars have taken it for a self-portrait. But João de Lobeira, or whoever it was that recounted the veracious history of the Doncel del Mar, Beltenebros and the Caballero de la Verde Espada, had sufficient faith in his convention to remain within its limits; and by so doing he retained the unity that marks a work of art. He created, moreover, a formula which, when popularized by Garcí-Rodríguez de Montalvo, could be readily copied by the historians of the posterity of Amadis.

Thus the Amadis-novels occupy a great part of Spanish literature, and yet we may suspect they are not so intrinsically Spanish as their rivals which failed. Their unquestioning acceptance of a foreign convention, however highly this was honoured by all Europe, seems less natural than the restiveness of the authors of *Cifar*, *Curial* and *Tirant*. Such authors appreciate the heroic ideal presented by the Arthurian heroes, and they endeavor to reproduce it, as they also endeavor to reproduce, some more, some less, the sentimental ideal to be found in Rodríguez del Padrón and Diego de San Pedro. But they are also aware that these ideals are not the whole of life. Realism keeps breaking in, more or less. The author of *Cifar* creates his Ribaldo and lets him criticize the chivalrous hero; the author of *Tirant* describes the very carnal love of the fifteenth century; the author of *Curial* speaks of real places, perhaps of real persons, and with real and disconcerting details of narrative. The novels dissolve and become kaleidoscopic. The real and the ideal lie side by side, unreconciled. They are sketches, unfinished. But when we look at finished masterpieces of their kind, we realize how sound was their instinct even if their execution was weak. It is the miracle of *La Celestina* that the conventionally-inspired Calisto and Melibea meet Celestina and her rascals on a plane of probability. In *Don Quijote* the real accompanies and criticizes the ideal as in *Cifar*, but so intimately and persistently that both have become inseparable elements of the same thought. Yet Cervantes solves his problem not without pain and not with entire self-conviction. The *Primera Parte* contains a pell-mell of experiments in different styles and of different inspiration, like the three novels we have mentioned, and not all are successful. The fame of *Don Quijote* was indubitable, and even the author took his literary rank from it; yet he continued to hanker after the conventions he himself had destroyed. He was attracted by the thought of a cosmos

depending on some simple postulate, like that of a pastoral Golden Age, at the same time as his Peninsular mind could not for long admit such as true. He longed to unify his thoughts; they were, in fact, irremediably divided.

This is the case also with the anonymous author of *Curial* and Mossen Joanot Martorell, who wrote *Tirant lo Blanch*, though they wanted the literary experience to make even a momentary synthesis. They were, like Cervantes, soldiers by temperament, and probably by profession, but unlike him they had not devoted their youth to the service of the Muses. Late or lateish in life, at the distance of perhaps a generation between them, the two Catalan gentlemen sat down to record what their experience showed to be a practical model of the perfect knight. Their experience was gained in many lands. Martorell knew England, France and Rhodes, at least; the author of *Curial* knew Italy, France and perhaps Tunis and Sinai. They do not set their hero down in the forests and glades of King Lisuarte's realm, in a fantastic Britain that never was; but they cause him to act out his ideal in the fifteenth-century Mediterranean world that they themselves knew. He meets real people, or at least people with real names; he travels on a real map, so far as the author's experience goes; he uses the materials ready to hand and performs feats which are, or (in the author's opinion) ought to be, within the powers of persons fashioned on a heroic model. They indicate the conventions they are to serve; but they each seek in Catalan history for instances of persons who were proved equal to those standards. Martorell discovers Roger de Flor and his Almogavers in Muntaner to be the nearest historical equivalent of Guy of Warwick; the author of *Curial* seeks out the chivalrous Pere el Gran from Desclot. The latter choice is perhaps the more happy in the sense of being more coherent with the ideal Curial; but it is less interesting. Martorell's novel is more disorderly in its amalgam, but more rich and suggestive. We feel that his mind is one stored with unusual experience of the world; that he thinks more radically, and expresses himself with more power. *Curial e Güelfa* is a smoother novel, more elegant and humanistic in its polish, more decorative. It moves us less.

The plot of each work shows the superfluity that characterizes the able but inexperienced writer. There is material accumulated for several novels rather than the plot of one. Suggestions are taken from all sides, and imperfectly fused. In this respect *Curial* is more one book than is *Tirant*, but even in *Curial* the recital of

the plot shows an interesting profusion. Curial's father died when he was a child, and he ran away from his mother's apron-strings to the court of Montferrat. The Marquis adopted him as a member of his household, but later ignored his existence. His master's sister Güelfa, a widow of fourteen, looking for an object for her unused affections, determined to bestow them on Curial, and to make a man of him. Without a lady no man could be a true knight; but with fifteenth-century realism Güelfa saw that chivalry was a career needing money in abundance. She resolved to finance Curial's career; he to ask no more love than at any moment she was prepared to bestow. Two envious persons sought to traduce their relationship to her brother the Marquis, who, however, did not go very far into the matter. Curial, in fact, was about to set out with a certain Jacob of Cleves to set free the Duchess of Austria, wrongfully traduced by two felon knights and about to be burned. On his journey through Hungary he delivered yet a third victim of slander—three times the same motif. He succeeds, of course, in Germany; but the duchess's parents, in their gratitude, seek to force on him their second daughter Laquesis, who becomes a principal character in the action. Their methods are very direct. They offer her hand; she serves the loving cup to Curial; she vacates her bedroom to him, but leaves her articles of toilet and wardrobe; she makes a formal proposal. What could she do more? Hers was, the author tells us, the prettiest-made-up face in the world; and he agrees that Curial, under such blandishments, could not be expected to remember Güelfa all the day. In fact, Curial is more or less kidnaped back to Montferrat, where he finds his lady suspicious and rather sulky. He kills, for her sake, a pretendant, the Neapolitan Boca de Far; but she affects to favour his rival, and lets him go off to the Tournament at Melun with rather a bad grace. In the opening of the second book Curial is performing the Arthurian feat of conducting a damsel safely to a tournament—a feat made more or less probable by the circumstance that the French King had proclaimed a revival of chivalry errant for the duration of his festival. This revival included several editions of *Breus sans Pitié*, whom Curial defeats. As he travels he comes to a nunnery. But it is not an Arthurian one with an atmosphere of austere piety; but a fifteenth-century one, filled with aristocratic young Frenchwomen who would dearly like to peep at the world, and have very few illusions about chastity. At Melun Curial formed part of the victorious team led by the disguised Pere el Gran, ending in a de-

fiant ride round the lists. He defeated, later, a formidable person called Le Sanglier, from his prominent teeth. But his career was ruined by the two Envejosos who, failing to set against him the French king, returned to tell Güelfa of the messages that Laquesis kept on sending her hero. Apprized of his lady's disdain, Curial hurried to Montferrat, but could not get a hearing. He hurried back to Paris, to secure at least Laquesis; but she was tired of waiting, and had accepted the Duke of Orleans. Back to Montferrat; and a sentence of lover's exile from Güelfa. So Curial begins his travels afresh in the third part. He takes ship to Alexandria, and thence overland to St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinaitic Peninsula, where Le Sanglier—a reformed character—preaches repentance. From Alexandria he proceeds to Parnassus to settle the Homeric Question of the fifteenth century. Then his ship is wrecked off the Barbary Coast, and he is kept seven years a slave. During these years he has all the excitement of a harem intrigue, ending up with a combat against two lions. Finally he is ransomed, but Güelfa is still hard of hearing. Poor Curial must go to London and kill a certain Guillaume del Chastell, to Turkey and kill a certain Critxi; become the Emperor's constable, win a great battle and save the Marquis of Montferrat, before the author brings on the dénouement. One more tournament—at Notre Dame du Puy. Curial, disguised, wins all prizes. He causes the King, Queen and all the company to cry 'Mercé' for him to his lady. Curial was made Prince of Orange, and Güelfa given him by the King. When the people saw her beauty, they thought Laquesis was distinctly second-class!

What an extraordinary mixture all this makes! There are passages of intolerable pedantry, especially in the third book, where the author was not at home with his scenery. There are narratives drawn from the tritest literary convention, made more palpable by the author's curious habit not merely of copying a source, but of naming or discussing it a few pages later. Lest we should forget what the opening of the second book owes to Lancelot and Tristan, the author repeatedly names them and Breus. He takes his opening gambit from Boccaccio; and later discusses the moral of that tale. His duchess of Austria and part of the tournament of Melun are from Desclot; but he has a chapter also to summarize from Desclot Pere el Gran's *hazañas*! But there is also stark realism. The boy who runs away from his mother; the finance of chivalry; the aristocratic nunnery; Laquesis' wooing; the chemistry of her complexion; the muttered comments of

bystanders and the rival vanity of court beauties; the peevishness of Güelfa. This realism appears in the names, which serve to distinguish the author's real from his assumed experience. In Catalonia and Aragón we have such persons as Ramon Folch de Cardona, Blasco de Alagó, Juan Martinez de Luna, etc.—all real, or at least highly probable. The author inclines rather to the Aragonese side of the joint kingdom, and gives his kings Aragonese names: not Pere, but Pedro. The nuns come straight from life: Gileta de Berri, Johanina de Bourbon, Violant de Lesparre, Ysabel de Bar, Blanche de Bretagne, Catherine d'Orléans, Matta d'Armagnac and Beatrix de Foix. One is not surprised to learn that their Mother Superior was related to a Boucicault who was actually a Marshal of France. Italian names are sure; but the German ones are French, apart from the easy Jacob, Hans, and Harrich. Heralds are given fancy French appellations, in accordance with the custom of that age, and mottoes are rightly in French. Dante is quoted in the original. In sum, the author knows his France, north Italy and Aragon; but Germany he knows more superficially, and Greece, no doubt, not at all.

This observation gives higher relief to the startling realism of the Hero's adventures in Tunis. Here again we are in the country of real names; Faraig (Faraj), Fátima (which was perhaps easy), and Camar (Qamar = Moon, which is convincing). The atmosphere is just right, if we deduct Camar's practice of reading Vergil and modelling her death-speech on Dido's. No one who has read *Hajji Baba* can doubt the hot-house air of harem intrigue, as the mother abandons her body without scruple to one handsome slave, and the daughter sighs for another. Perhaps she should not prefer a slave to a sultan as a piece of real life, though that also has been done; but that she should stab herself once and later hurl herself from a window to her death is most convincing. The episode of the lions is, I fancy, borrowed from an adventure of Alfonso el Sabio's brother Enrique; the author mentions Don Enrique de Castilla, according to his custom, as a spectator of the episode. It is a reminiscence of literature; but should we not deem Camar's passion one of the author's reminiscences from his own life? And why seven years in Tunis, if there were not actually seven such years in the author's experience? Fewer would have done just as well, and proved kinder to Güelfa's beauty, who was in the interim becoming dangerously mature.

But as a story *Curial* fails to convince us. It is not merely that the materials of its construction are heterogenous. They are less

so than in *Tirant* or in the first part of *Don Quijote*, which none the less survives its defects triumphantly. It is not in the pedantry of Parnassus and Sinai that the book palls. It is, I think, mainly in the two leading characters. Curial lacks red blood. The girls make love to him; he merely accepts, within limits. He wavers and forgets; one would rather he sinned. His contracted loyalty for Güelfa might be pled in his favor, as we plead it for Amadis. But Amadis, though wanting in emotion, at least loves his Oriana with romantic devotion, whereas Curial receives the love of Güelfa, passively and without initiative. Güelfa is more varied; but she is not attractive. She is calculating; she is jealous without cause; she is pettish and sulky. She contributes nothing positive to the action; Curial achieves no single adventure for her sake. She is an imperfect ideal and an unlovely reality. How much more attractive is Laquesis, with her carefully composed complexion; Laquesis, who knows what she wants and besieges Curial like one of Tirso's heroines; Laquesis, the leader of the Bright Young Things, who turns pale when another girl is praised for her beauty; Laquesis, who will not wait a tepid paragon's response forever, but marries in the bloom of her youth; Laquesis, who is 'not too good for human nature's daily food.' Laquesis is lovable. Of course, one knows that this praise for Laquesis is allegorically wrong. She embodies the carnal appetite of love, seeking only its own satisfaction; Güelfa makes love a discipline to fashion the perfect knight and courtier, the 'curial' man. Let the allegory be so: the result is pallid and priggish. Let the author envy Curial his Güelfa; but which of his readers would not rather have been the Duke of Orleans?

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FRIEDRICH HÖLDERLIN¹

(1770-1843)

IF THERE is one case in which the ordinary biographical pre-occupation has blocked our understanding of genuine poetic achievement, it is the case of Friedrich Hölderlin. In the older accounts one will find him described as a self-centered weakling who could not master life and in consequence was forced into the isolation of madness. It must even be admitted that such an impression may result from a superficial examination of Hölderlin's life. Still it is a mistaken impression.

If one tries to be just, one has to consider the poet's career as inspired by his one desire for preserving his inner independence. In a more favorable age he might have chosen writing as a profession. But as things were, Hölderlin had little else left to him but the life of a private tutor of children. For religious reasons he never entered the ministry which for a long time was open to him, and filial piety forbade him to live on his twice widowed mother's meagre resources. So Hölderlin actually managed his life as best he could. Yet his noble motives were not understood even by Schiller who at first had found him promising and helped his young compatriot along.

Hölderlin's life struggle was a struggle against heavy odds, which did much to hasten the gradual disintegration that was to become the ultimate fate of his mind. When finally, in the person of Isaak von Sinclair, a true friend appeared who wanted to save Hölderlin by securing for him a more independent position, the shadows of insanity had already encircled him beyond hope of recovery. It is touching to hear that in 1802 already, the news of the death of his soul mate, Diotima, failed to evoke any response on the part of the poet.

Insanity, it becomes clear from this and other criteria, was already besetting Hölderlin, when he wrote some of his greatest

¹This article is based on a perusal of most of the recent literature on Hölderlin, which has considerably changed the general conception of the poet. The problems occupying the modern scholar are most ably treated by Adolf von Grolman in his article: *Die gegenwärtige Lage der Hölderlinliteratur. Eine Problem-und Literaturschau* (1920-1925). *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Geistesgeschichte und Literaturwissenschaft*, LV, 1926, pp. 564-594. The still more recent literature on the subject one can find in the notes appended to Wilhelm Böhm's *Hölderlin* (Halle, 1928-30), the most scholarly treatment of all the problems connected with Hölderlin's life and works.

poems. His madness did not break out all at once, and we cannot draw a distinct line between the sane and the insane poet. While in real life he had already become definitely asocial, as schizophrenic persons do, his powers of poetic expression remarkably increased for a while. This forbids us to judge the productions of the mad Hölderlin from a purely biographical or even medical angle. The only criteria for rejecting or accepting any of his poems can be found in the poems themselves, and the appreciation of Hölderlin ultimately becomes a problem of proper literary interpretation.

Hölderlin was primarily a lyric poet, a lyric poet of remarkable richness and singular development. Even judged by the youthful *Hymnen an die Ideale der Menschheit*, which clearly show Schiller's influence, he would have to be singled out for originality. There we do not find the absolute antagonism between beautiful antiquity and dreary modernity, between narrow, sultry life and the lofty, pure idea, that is characteristic of the youthful Schiller.² Hölderlin, in his *Hymnen*, strives for a synthesis of these antagonisms, and a true synthesis at that, not merely a formal, abstract one.

Hölderlin knows that

Attika, die Riesen, ist gefallen,

yet he does not bewail it, like Schiller in *Die Götter Griechenlands*. The younger poet thirsts for participation in real life, and as his poetic powers develop, he more and more envisions a rejuvenated Greece. He finds consolation in the thought that, after all, genius is not the exclusive gift of one nation or restricted to one historic period:

Doch, wie der Frühling, wandelt der Genius
Von Land zu Land.

So Hölderlin may come to the proud realization that far from being dead, the Greek spirit has found a new home among the German people, envisioned as its heirs legitimate. Seldom has a loftier song been written than Hölderlin's *Gesang des Deutschen*.

The rejuvenation of Greece is the central theme of all his poetry. Yet it is not always treated explicitly. Hölderlin was so deeply steeped in the Greek spirit that he did not need to state

²Compare: Was unsterblich im Gesang soll leben,
Muss im Leben untergehn. (*Die Götter Griechenlands*, 1788.)
or: Fliehet aus dem engen, dumpfen Leben,
In des Ideales Reich. (*Das Ideal und das Leben*, 1795.).

it again and again. Neither did he have to achieve his syntheses in any too facile way. In *Hyperions Schicksalslied*, his most often quoted song, the poet seems to give merely the contrast between the light-footed, happy genii above and the fate-driven, luckless humans below. Yet the poet does not take sides; he does not exhort us, like Schiller, to equal the gods, if it be in song only. The contrast stands there, in merciless cruelty, as a picture of life as a whole.

The same contrasts may be found in *Abbitte*, that gem of personal confession, produced by Hölderlin's relations to Diotima (Susette Gontard). They may be found in a grandiose nature description like *Heidelberg*.

Yet the over-indulgence in contrasts is not lasting. The great number of the poems is hopeful and ends in clear syntheses. In how youthful a spirit does *Der gefesselte Strom* end, another of Hölderlin's grand nature poems. And how fascinating is the synthesis achieved in *Der blinde Sänger*.

The groping of Hölderlin for the fullest possible view of life can also be discerned in his tendency to create in cycles, by which the individual lyric poem is made subservient to the expression of a comprehensive view of life in general. The same tendency prompts the poet to avoid as far as possible any one-sided rhythm. Instead he tries to balance his poetic rhythm by an ingenious counterplay of ascending and falling verse units (*Gegenrhythmus*). For examples one may look at the first stanzas of *Abbitte* or *Heidelberg*.

But Hölderlin's greatest poems have not been mentioned as yet. There is *Der Weingott*, in which the poet happily overcomes any romantic inclination towards night and death and dream moods, stating as his ideal:

wachend zu bleiben bei Nacht.

There is the singular *Elegie*, the deepest love poem in the German tongue. In the beginning, the poet compares himself to a deer that has been wounded and now errs around in the woods without finding any relief:

Nicht die Wärme des Lichts und nicht die Kühle der Nacht hilft,
Und in Wogen des Stroms taucht es die Wunden umsonst.
Ihm bereitet umsonst die Erd' ihr stärkendes Heilkraut
Und sein schäumendes Blut stillen die Lüftchen umsonst.

And yet the poet resolves to live on in spite of an envious fate:

Komm! es war wie ein Traum! die blutigen Fittiche sind ja
Schon genesen, verjüngt wachen die Hoffnungen all.

Dien' im Orkus, wem es gefällt! wir, welche die stille
Liebe bildete, wir suchen zu Göttern die Bahn.

What happens when the progressing schizophrenia begins to attack the truly poetic powers also? The effect is not all at once devastating. It could even be argued that the advancing disease for a time enriches Hölderlin's powers. In any case the details of his poetry now become more colorful, more independent, and the rhythm becomes shorter and quicker. Yet the stanza is preserved as a unit, and the onrush of poetic thought is not deflected, though perhaps slowed down by the greater richness of detail. The style is more jerky, more nervous than the style of the preceding period, yet it is not essentially different. The trend towards a coherent synthesis of massive units remains alive to the last.

These units now revolve around historic figures, and the entire group of them tends to become a record of civilization. Bonaparte and Columbus are conjured up, Nature and Rousseau, and finally, the Gods of Greece and Christ. The loveliest meeting with Christ is described in *Patmos*. And the attempt to unite in *Der Einzige* the Greek and Christian views of the world, is truly gigantic:

Ihr alten Götter und all
Ihr tapfern Söhne der Götter
Noch Einen such ich, den
Ich liebe unter euch,
Wo ihr den letzten eures Geschlechts,
Des Hauses Kleinod mir,
Dem fremden Gaste verberget.

Mein Meister und Herr!
O du, mein Lehrer!
Was bist du ferne
Geblichen? . . .

All the poems thus far mentioned can clearly be understood in themselves. Yet taken as medical evidence, they more and more show the approaching disintegration. When it becomes complete, we find such heaps of ruins as Hölderlin's *Luther* and *Vatikan* fragments which definitely call for a psychiatric explanation. Still it is touching to see how even in the last poetic attempts the trend towards great, clear, unified visions can be discovered, that single Hölderlin out as a classicist.

The unbiased critic will never call Hölderlin's poems purely romantic. Neither will he call his novel *Hyperion* a document of yearning for the lost charm of Greece, as the older scholars were wont to say.

Hyperion describes the development of a youth in modern Greece. His soul is inflamed by Adamas' tales of the greatness of antiquity, and when his friend Alabanda sets out to free his country from the rule of the Turks, Hyperion joins the revolt, longing to restore the past. Yet this turns out to be a dream; the modern Greeks appear to be pillagers and cowards, unworthy of their great ancestors. Disappointed, Hyperion turns away and hurries back to Diotima who once showed him a worthier aim than fighting in an army of small adventurers. Yet Diotima dies, before he has reached her again, and so he must work out his salvation alone. Hyperion goes to Germany, and there he gradually finds his true place in life: Not to restore a definitely dead past is his mission, but to work for a happier future by educating his nation. This task slowly emerges from his confessions to Bellarmin which form the content of the novel.

So the form of *Hyperion* is not merely accidental. It inseparably belongs to the story. For Hyperion's outer destiny is only the one theme of the book; the other is his inner development after the close of his tumultuous youth, and this second theme is developed in his recollection of the outer life, which could only be done in a series of letters. The letter form, so to say, lifts the mere adventure tale to the heights of a psychological novel.

Hyperion undoubtedly is a great novel, though in parts it shows too much construction and not enough life. Even Alabanda's character is somewhat schematized, and some of the lesser personalities appear hazy and nebulous.

The question asked in *Hyperion* is: How may life be made fruitful? And the answer given is: By working for the future greatness of the national spirit. So the problem is treated completely.

But to Hölderlin it merely seemed so. His cyclical spirit could understand *Hyperion* only as a one-sided work that needed a supplement in an answer to the equally basic question: How may death be made fruitful? This he tried to set down in *Empedokles*. This drama has come to us only as a fragment, and even the loving finger of the philologist has not completely disentangled the poet's intentions. The idea that can be observed as underlying the last written scenes, seems to have been to portray Empedocles' death as a heroic sacrifice like the death of Christ. The Greek philosopher was to throw himself into the abyss of Aetna as an admonition to his people to renew themselves. The completed drama would have resembled a passion play.

Hölderlin's work, so long misjudged and underestimated, has come into new prominence through the life-long labor of a number of devoted scholars. For a while his name has seemed to eclipse that of Schiller, if not even of Goethe. One does no longer need to refute such gross exaggerations. But even to the careful critic, it is no longer possible to give an informed talk about German classicism, without giving due consideration to one of its greatest authors: Friedrich Hölderlin.

ERNST ROSE

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ON REREADING GOBINEAU

MARCEL BRION, in a short study published in 1927, called Joseph Arthur, Comte De Gobineau, author of the *Essai sur l'inégalité des races*, "un amateur de génie." And such he was. Descended from the minor nobility, his family legitimists, he spent most of his life in the service of a government, the principles of which he disapproved. To his friendship with Alexis De Tocqueville, the famous author of *Democracy in America*, he owed some of the posts he occupied. Yet their association and correspondence, which lasted over a period of years, did not affect Gobineau's opposition to the democratic processes which were sweeping over Europe.¹ To his stay in Persia is attributable his apotheosis of Orientalism, and his defense of the caste system in India, both in the essay and in his *Les Religions et les Philosophies de l'Asie Centrale*. He was a prolific writer. In addition to the works mentioned, he published poems, novels, essays. The French Academy awarded the *prix Borodin* to his *Renaissance*, published in 1877. This is a brilliant series of dramatic sketches of Savonarola, Cesare Borgia, Julius II, Leo X and Michaelangelo, which shows a keen understanding of these personalities, as well as of the revival of culture. The editor of the English translation of the book (published in 1913), Dr. Oscar Levy, the Nietzschean, calls it "a truly great book."²

The *Essai* was written while Gobineau was occupying posts in the diplomatic service of France at Berne, Hanover and Frankfurt. The first volume was published in 1853, the second in 1855.

In it, Gobineau presents a philosophy of history which accounts for the development of civilization in terms of race.

The primary organizing character of all civilization, writes Gobineau, is identical with the most salient spirit of the dominant race. Civilization changes, as the race changes.³

The impulse thus given to a civilization may continue long after the race itself has disappeared. All mankind is governed by this racial law. Fanaticism, luxury, irreligion, immorality, do not lead necessarily to the fall of societies. Nor do the relative merits of government have any influence upon the longevity of nations. Human societies degenerate, as do human families, be-

¹Correspondance entre De Tocqueville et Gobineau (1843-1859), publiée par L. Scheman, Paris, 1909.

²Gobineau, *The Renaissance*, translated by Paul V. Cohen.

³The quotations are from the fifth edition, Paris, n. d. The translations, or rather paraphrases, are the writer's.

cause they no longer have in their veins the blood of their ancestors. Ethnical deterioration results from the mixture of blood, which affects the purity of the race. Gobineau is emphatic:

A nation would never die if it remained composed of the same national elements.

Ethnical inequalities owe nothing to institutions, and while Christianity makes men more thoughtful and tender, it does not create or change a nation's civilizing aptitude. Civilizations, according to Gobineau, are either masculine—in which the active (masterful, practical) principle dominates (as in the Chinese, primitive Roman, German) or feminine—in which the passive (contemplative) principle dominates (as in the Egyptian, Assyrian, Hindu). Culture, at least a satisfactory condition of culture, and civilization are not possible except in races which have one of these qualities in abundance.

Gobineau defines civilization as

a state of relative stability where the people seek peacefully the satisfaction of their needs, and refine their intelligence and customs.

Gobineau rejects the idea of the unity of the human race. Any unity that may have existed, ceased before historical times. The races, as we know them, are distinct in their physical and mental makeups. This distinction is lost by crossing. Racial inequality has a basis of physical dissimilarity, and intellectual and moral inequality.

Adopting the division current at the time, Gobineau recognizes three races—black, yellow and white. The black man is at the bottom of the scale. His animalism determines his destiny. His thinking faculties are limited. Yet he is endowed with intensity—passion. He thinks as little of his own life as of that of others, and kills gladly for the sake of killing.

The yellow man lacks physical vigor. He is disposed to apathy. He has weak desires, and is obstinate and mediocre. He understands readily things that are not too difficult or too deep, loves the practical, respects rules, and is conscious of the advantages of a certain amount of liberty. They do not care for theorizing, have no inventive spirit, but can adapt useful things. They seek to live as quietly as possible.

They are, Gobineau concludes, a race of petty traders (*petite bourgeoisie*), which any civilizer would like to choose as a foundation for his society. But they are not material out of which to create such a society or to give to it strength, beauty or action.

The highest product of race is the white race. They have an energetic intelligence. They are practical, but in a broader sense,

more intelligent, more ideal—than the petty practicality of the yellow race; have the perseverance which realizes obstacles and overcomes them. Endowed with greater physical strength, an extraordinary sense of order, a pronounced desire for liberty, they are opposed to the formalism tolerated by the yellow race, and the extreme absolutism so needed to restrain the black. They love life. If they are cruel, they are conscious of the excess. They give their lives gladly for the sake of honor, a sentiment unknown to the black or yellow. They are inferior to the black in sensuality.

All the nations of history have been formed through the intermarriage of these three groups. Without such intermarriage, the supremacy of the world would have gone to the handsomest white group, and the yellow and black would never have risen above subjection to the lowest white races. But history knows no such condition. Besides, it might not have been beneficial. The artistic and literary instincts, absent in the pure white races, are the result of mixture of white and black. Other mixtures had beneficial results. By such mixtures, says Gobineau,

The lowly were elevated. Unfortunately, however, by the same stroke, the mighty were degraded. And this is an evil which nothing can compensate or repair.

All civilization comes from the white race. None can exist without its aid. A civilization is great and brilliant only in proportion as it conserves longer the noble group which has created it—belonging to the most illustrious branch of the race, the Aryan. The world has known ten civilizations—the Hindu, Egyptian, Greek, Chinese, Roman, Germanic, Assyrian, and the Alleghanic, Mexican and Peruvian. The first six (in part, at least) belong to the Aryan. The seventh (the Assyrian) owes to the Aryan its Iranian renascence, its most illustrious heritage.

There is no spontaneous civilization among the yellow races.

In none of the ten primary civilizations do the blacks occupy the position of initiators. The white groups occupying Europe, at the time Gobineau was writing, were white groups in which the non-Aryan elements predominated. The Aryan elements are more dominantly present in the Germanic races. In them he finds that will to dominate others, which is so essential a part of the ideology of the Aryan. These qualities make Gobineau sigh for the glory of the Vikings, the purest Aryans of Europe, to whom he traces his descent in *Histoire d'Ottar Jarl*. This branch, the Northern, personifies the Aryan as he was once seen in India,

Persia, and in Homeric Greece. In an observation which may seem curious, in view of what is happening in Europe, Gobineau states that in the Germanic world, "the individual is all and the nation is little." This, Gobineau adds, is in contrast with the more mixed groups—the Romans, Greeks, and Semites—where group dominates and man counts for nothing.

According to Gobineau, the purity of the races was lost, at the beginning of the Christian era. There are no pure races left. All there is left is the confusion of a mongrel world.

As humanity is becoming degraded, it is disappearing. . . . The sad prediction, however, is not death, but the certainty of arriving there degraded. Perhaps this shame, reserved to our descendants, might leave us indifferent, if we did not feel, in secret horror, that the rapacious hands of destiny are already upon us.

Gobineau has influenced all subsequent racialists. In Germany, in particular, his influence is discernible in Wagner, Chamberlain, and in many of the present-day racialists. Gobineau's grandson, who published recently the correspondence between Gobineau and Prokesch-Osten,⁴ has claimed filiation not only for the purely racial movements in the Europe of today, but also for the revived nationalistic and anti-democratic tendencies of all European countries.⁵ A new book has just made its appearance in Italy, significantly dedicated to Mussolini, whom Gobineau's grandson, in the article just named, designated as indebted to Gobineau for his Fascist doctrine (*Lorenzo Gigli, Vita di Gobineau*, Milan, 1933).

Gobineau saw in the aristocratic principle the true basis of civilization. All around him, he saw it in decay. So his dream took refuge in an immutable element in human society, race.⁶

To his credit be it said, however, that he did not build upon his doctrine a rationalization for endowing his own nation with distinctive traits to the exclusion of others. On the contrary, he saw the same racial degradation (more, in fact) in his own nation as in others. Many who have followed him have used racialism as a means of reviving tribalism.

Racialism is on the ascendancy. And, whether in the Gobinian form, or a more chauvinistic form, it may shape the ideology of nations in the future. And this despite the fact that the anthro-

⁴Clément Serpeille De Gobineau, *Correspondance entre Gobineau et Prokesch*, Paris, 1933.

⁵Interview in *Je Suis Partout*, vol. IV, No. 137 (November 25, 1933).

⁶Robert Dreyfus in his *Vie et Prophéties du Comte De Gobineau*, Paris, n. d. has a fine analysis of the aristocratic ethic of Gobineau.

pologist and the cultural historian tells us, in the language of Friedrich Ratzel: "Die Rasse hat mit dem Kulturbesitz an sich nichts zu tun."⁷

But then, cultural historians do not determine folk-ways, or shape the destinies of nations.

LÉON R. YANKWICH

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⁷Quoted by Friedrich Hertz, *Rasse und Kultur*, 5-6. A similarly terse statement is that of the distinguished anthropologist of the University of California, Dr. Robert H. Lowie. He sums up the answer of anthropology to the claims of the racialist in the statement: "Race cannot explain culture." (*Are We Civilized?*, New York, 1929, p. 32.)

A SCOTSMAN IN FRANCE

MR. MacFARLAND was in France; alone; after the season. No personally conducted tours for him; by experience, he had found that he could "manage better," as he put it, alone, than by confiding himself, bag, baggage, body and soul, to a manager, who made him go to certain places, eat certain food, and tip certain people, at certain stated hours. There was no use in declining the food and the places; he need neither go nor eat—but the meals and the admissions had to be paid for; and the tipping went on all the time.

So Mr. MacFarland went alone; in full command of his meals and his tipping. The sights that he saw were always free. It worked out well; he had his holiday in France, in his own way. He had learnt a certain amount of French, during the war, and when he was demobbed, he went on learning, from his old school grammar. The war had left him with a definite affection for France; but his holidays always took him to the south, far from the parts where he had spent four intensely uncomfortable, memorable years. But from time to time, his sense of economy was jarred. Not, of course, his own economies; that would have outraged him, and would have been attended to at once. But he disliked, being as Scotch as they make them, waste of any kind.

Take, for example, the night he spent in the little hotel at Bagnères de Bigorre, in the Hautes Pyrénées. There he was, the only guest in the hotel, sitting in the verandah, and there, in the dining-room, quarter of an hour after he had finished his excellent dinner, were four electric lights, still burning.

Of course, it was really nothing to him. Naturally, he had bargained, on his arrival, for dinner, bed and breakfast, inserting a clause that after-dinner coffee must be included in the price. Still, his soul, so long trained to restrictions, was unhappy. Such waste in France was intolerable. During the war there was none of that nonsense.

"Ici," he called, and when Marie came; "Mong caffey nwor," he said: "et ploo de loomyaire," and he pointed towards the dining-room.

He knew he was right. In his well-thumbed grammar, there was a page devoted to *PLUS*, and one sentence ran:

"Absolutely and without negation, *plus* indicates that a state has ceased or ought to cease." Certainly, the state of four electric lights to one empty dining-room ought to cease. And in the

grammar, an example, printed so that anybody who ran might read, was:

"*Plus de lumière; no lights; coll. lights out.*"

"*Un café noir, et plus de lumière? Bien, Monsieur.*" said Marie, and went into the dining-room and turned on two more lights.

"*Ploo de loomyaire—je dis PLOO,*" cried Mr. MacFarland, loudly.

"*Bien, Monsieur,*" said Marie, who, if she had only known it, understood him in the sense of another rule in the very same page:

"*PLUS means more, over again; as, plus de bruit, more noise.*"

So Marie hastily turned on the switches in the vestibule and the salon.

Mr. MacFarland was now a fighting Scot, up against waste and stupidity.

"*Lichtin' up the place ez ef it wur a caseeno, in defiance of ma orrders,*" he growled. "*Here, gurl, de ye no ken yer ain language? PLOO de loomyaire, Ah tell ye, PLOO.*"

Without questioning the sanity of this queer Englishman, for to Marie, the two sides of the Tweed did not exist, she hurried to obey him, and turned on the light in the porch, revealing an outraged Mr. MacFarland.

"*PLOO de loomyaire, Ah'm tellin' ye—PLOO,*" he roared.

"*Mon Dieu, c'est tout ce qu'il y a en bas,*" apologised Marie. "*Ah! mais non—attendez un tout petit moment.*"

She ran indoors, and reappeared with the coffee tray, and two lighted candles on it.

"*VOILA! Maintenant—Monsieur est content?*"

On the contrary, Monsieur was greatly annoyed.

Blowing out the candles, and leaving his paid-for coffee untasted, he strode indoors, snapped out every light, and stumbling upstairs, went to bed, cursing, in the dark.

LADY ADAMS

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THE RESEARCH COUNCIL OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MORE than one hundred members of the Modern Language Association of Southern California took an active part in the study of integration made by the Research Council during the year 1933-34. Open meetings for discussion were led by Dr. Featherstone of the Los Angeles Public Schools, Dr. Meredith, Assistant Superintendent of the Pasadena Schools, and Professor W. H. Burton of the University of Southern California. After a series of committee meetings a general agreement was reached on the objectives of language instruction.

In the light of the new demands of secondary education the Research Council is convinced that modern language teachers must thoroughly revise their aims and technique. Specific values which we formerly considered of primary importance now appeal to a diminishing minority of our students, and the following general values which we formerly considered as merely incidental must now be recognized as of vital importance:

- I. Increased command of fundamental processes and skills needed for social living by acquaintance with the achievements of a foreign people in the great fields of human endeavor.
- II. Better social understanding through study of a foreign civilization leading to a more intelligent appreciation of our American institutions.
- III. Growth and self-knowledge and the power of self-direction through incentives found in the study of a foreign language.
- IV. Greater vocational fitness and avocational resourcefulness by providing a practical instrument for furthering professional research and for enriching cultural and recreational interests.
- V. More intelligent dynamic citizenship through contacts with the ideals and institutions of a foreign people.
- VI. Growth in positive ethical character by installing the spirit of open-mindedness and good will.

In an effort to make these objectives immediately effective the Council prepared a detailed prospectus for each language. The work of the Council for the coming year will consist in further study and final recommendation of specific procedures.

Each of the modern world languages can be so taught as to attain these objectives in a unique manner. In so far as we supplement and emphasize the work of other departments in attaining these objectives we will be justified in urging our principals, superintendents, and boards of education to retain foreign language instruction in the curriculum as a required or recommended part of the course of study for all students of normal mentality. Then

we may insist on the introduction of foreign language instruction earlier in the curriculum and also hold an increasing proportion of our students in advanced courses or extra-curricular groups throughout their school career.

The work of the Research Council has received the encouragement and commendation of many superintendents, principals, and administrative officers during the past year. Among them may be mentioned Associate Superintendent Ford of Los Angeles, Assistant Superintendent Meredith of Pasadena, Dr. Merton E. Hill of the University of California, Principal George C. Jensen, Sacramento Senior High School, Professor Aubrey A. Douglass of Claremont Colleges.

Educational leaders everywhere are alive to the new popular interest in formal education. On every hand we see evidence of the socialization and integration. No subject can be taught any more for its own sake or because it has a traditional prestige. Studies with a demonstrable socializing tendency are being expanded, and those with merely individual or specializing values will be more and more completely relegated to the later years of the secondary school course and to the college level.

The Research Council wishes to invite every member of the Association to have a part this year in the discussion and formulation of its specific findings, in a clearer realization of the aims which all language teachers have in common, and in the attainment of more definite objectives in the several departments.

F. H. REINSCH

Chairman of the Research Council

POLITICAL REVIEWS

FRANCE

WHILE the assassination of Dollfuss in Vienna and the Hitler executions in Germany absorbed most of France's attention through the summer, the internal situation holds such grave potentialities that it could not be overlooked. Business has been going from bad to worse and France is now facing an economic situation closely resembling the American crisis of 1931. How are the consequences of declining trade, increased cost of living and loss of revenue to be met? How much longer can France hold to the gold standard against the attacks of world deflation? The nationalization of silver by the United States has strengthened French belief that monetary manipulations are pending in Washington and that the dollar will depreciate to half its former value. Nevertheless France seems determined to maintain the franc and shun devaluation.

The present government is conservative, middle class and capitalistic. The working class feel sacrificed to big business and their resentment is demonstrated by the healing of a long standing schism between the Socialists and the Communists who have formed a common front against the Fascist tendencies which they assert exist in the present government.

Mr. Doumergue is very anxious to continue his work of pacification. The truce which had done so much to restore confidence was threatened last July by charges made by André Tardieu against the Radical Socialist Party in connection with the Stravinsky scandal. Mr. Doumergue had to return from his vacation to restore calm and order.

There are stormy times ahead. But the government is confidently preparing its program for the coming session of the Chamber of Deputies in October. It has two points to its credit. It has announced that next year's budget will call for no more sacrifices on the part of either taxpayers or civil servants. It has given the country a feeling of international strength, prestige and security. Undoubtedly economic difficulties will keep the German government fully occupied and it will have to avoid extremes in order to gain the confidence of the world. Hitler is making offers of permanent peace if the Saar question is settled to his satisfaction.

France is giving increased attention to the development of her African colonies. The much discussed Transaharian Railroad as

the key to the vast undeveloped riches of Africa, 1800 miles long, is now assured. Moreover a new railroad line has begun its services in equatorial Africa. It runs from Brazzaville on the Congo River to the ocean. It opens up to through communication with the sea, the whole vast system of more than 6000 miles of water transportation represented by the navigable Congo and its tributaries. France is endeavoring in every way to draw this developing country of Africa closer to her.

The most picturesque and efficient builder of that great empire, Marshal Lyautey, has just passed away. He had been appropriately surnamed *Africanus* because of his triumphs in the administration of Northern Africa. "One of the greatest proconsuls in all history," says the *New York Times*. "He so helpfully guided the people under their sovereign as their friend and counsellor that they sought for themselves what he could not have compelled." He became the personification of French colonial policy of preserving the civilization of the protectorates and of treating the natives as not inferior but different.

Among the many celebrations which recently have attracted French attention, the most appealing to France is the fourth centenary of the discovery of Canada by Jacques Cartier. On April 20, 1534, this master pilot set forth from the little village of St. Malo, at the command of Francis I of France, to find what might lie west of Newfoundland. What he found was Canada. On July 24 of the same year he stood on what is now Mount Royal, the only European, save for his companions, inside the Continent between Mexico and the pole.

This summer France, Canada, Great Britain and the United States are jointly celebrating this momentous anniversary. The ceremonies began in France in July. In August the French liner *Champlain* arrived bearing some 800 academicians, government officials and other distinguished Frenchmen to attend the elaborate festivities on the American continent.

France has always maintained an affectionate respect for Pierre Corneille, the Father of French tragedy and celebrated author of *Le Cid*. The 250th anniversary of his death will be observed with appropriate ceremonies on September 30. During the summer, two of his plays, *Horace* and *Brittanicus*, were given in Rome before the élite of Italian society. Mussolini permitted it as a manifestation of Franco-Italian friendship.

The outlook for peace would be brighter if Italy and France, overcoming their mutual fears and rivalries, would establish their

relations on a basis of cordial coöperation. Monsieur Barthou is contemplating a visit to Rome to strengthen this tendency. France is willing to cede to Italy a large desert area south of Lybia called Tibesti which has for Italy a promising commercial significance.

In international relations during September, one of the most important questions is to be the admission of Russia in the League of Nations. The French are deeply interested because if Russia joins the League it will be easier to maintain peace in Eastern Europe, and France will be in a position to bring greater pressure to bear on Germany. The adhesion of Russia will increase the reasons Germany and Japan might find to return to the banks of Lake Leman.

The Franco-Russian rapprochement has had one unfortunate consequence. It has aroused the resentment and distrust of Poland, who has secret ambitions in the direction of the Ukraine and the Black Sea, at the expense of Russia. Poland wishes to play the role of a first-class power in Eastern Europe and demands complete equality with other nations at Geneva regarding the guardianship of racial, political and religious minorities. Hitler has evidently encouraged her in that attitude, hence a noticeable drift of Poland away from her traditional friend and protector.

Europe is not likely to experience war immediately. The most serious problem remains the organization of peace. Shall it be along the Wilsonian principle or shall it be through the old system of the balance of power? France has tried to reach peace by the former method. On the other hand, it is in France that the alternative of military alliances and with them undoubtedly secret treaties, is receiving the most emphasis. The major field of interest is now the Eastern Locarno.

In the summer months France mourned one of the most outstanding figures in the history of science, Mme. Marie Skłodowska Curie. In close association with her husband, Pierre Curie, through her discovery of radium, she helped to usher in the new views of matter—views which hold the electron not the atom is the ultimate unit, that energy and matter are but two manifestations of the same thing. Her daughter, Irène Curie Joliot, is following in her footsteps and has already won fame in physics in the field of radiation.

PAUL PÉRIGORD

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GERMANY

Because of his protest against Nazi attacks on members of the Right Wing of the State the Ministry of Propaganda prohibited the reproduction by the press of Herr von Papen's Marburg speech of June 17th. One of the most significant events of recent months was the reduction of the Storm Troops. The greater part of the S. A. formations had been given leave for the month of July. The closing days of June witnessed the most turbulent period to date of the National Socialist régime. In order to forestall a plot on the part of Storm Troop leaders to defy his authority, the Reich Chancellor came to Munich in person on Saturday, June 30th. Within a few hours of his arrival his Chief of Staff and former comrade, Röhm, Heines, the terrorist of Breslau, and several other group commanders of the S. A. were either dead or imprisoned. Among those executed was General von Schleicher, Hitler's predecessor in the Chancellorship. Since the "purge" Rudolf Hess, Hitler's Deputy Leader, has grown in influence and importance and it is felt that he has more weight with the Chancellor than either Göring or Göbbels.

On July 4th the German Government sent to the British, French, Italian and Japanese Governments a Note which drew attention to "breaches of the Memel Convention" and to the Lithuanian Government's oppression of the people of the territory.

A Ministerial order of July 18th extended the scope of the Raw Materials and Semi-Manufactures Act to all industrial (finished) products. It was stated that the current harvest was expected to yield 23 per cent less than last year's. According to a report of July 20th the Minister for Economic Affairs, yielding to the necessity of rationing raw materials, had ordered a 36-hour working week for that part of the German textile industry engaged in the earlier processes of manufacture. It was announced on August 10th that unemployment during July had decreased by 54,000, bringing the total for the whole country down to 2,426,000. The accuracy of this and previous official statements on this subject has not been checked by foreign observers because reliable statistics were not available. It is certain that there has been much discontent, especially in urban centers, owing to the low wage-level and the general lowering of the living-standard resulting from the Government's measures to increase the volume of employment, coupled with the continued fall in Germany's exports.

In the matter of the assassination of the Austrian Chancellor,

Dollfuss, on the 25th of July, the German Government professed absolute innocence. Its statement of July 26th claimed that a "thorough investigation" into possible German complicity had been made, proving that no German quarter was either directly or indirectly concerned. On the same date Herr Rieth, German Minister to Vienna, was recalled to Berlin. It was announced on the 27th of July that von Papen was to become his successor.

The Austrian crisis nevertheless brought to nought anything that might have come of the conversations between Hitler and Mussolini at Venice in June. Immediately upon the report of the murder of Herr Dollfuss Italian army and air force troops were moved up to the Brenner and Carinthian frontiers.

After the death of President von Hindenburg at Neudeck on August 2nd a Government Bill united the two offices of Chancellor and President in the person of Herr Hitler as *Reichsführer*. In order to anticipate any objections on the part of the Reichswehr Hitler immediately required the army and navy to take an oath of unconditional obedience to him. Hitler's appointment was submitted to a national plebiscite on August 19th. The Reichsbank President, Dr. Schacht, was entrusted with the office of Minister for Economics to replace Dr. Schmitt who was to be on sick leave.

On the ninth of August a second session of the German Evangelical National Synod held in Berlin, overriding the opposition, confirmed Reich Bishop Müller as Primate. On August 10th Herr Josef Bürckel, Nazi district leader of the Palatinate, was designated to succeed Herr von Papen as German plenipotentiary to the Saar. On September 11th Dr. Fritz Sarnow, representing Dr. Schacht, declared all importations into Germany to be subject to State control; it is hoped to save the government's depleted currency reserves through the restriction of imports.

With Herr Hitler's ever more marked trend toward the Right it is difficult to see how he can fulfill his promises to those of his early followers who are still insisting upon making the socialism in National Socialism real.

GERALD M. SPRING

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SPAIN

After a session devoted to discussion as laborious as it was unproductive of results, the *Cortes* decided to adjourn at the beginning of July and let its members enjoy quietly their summer vacation. It was a wise decision, which was particularly regretted by nobody, and which brought relief to the many who, in Spain as in other European countries, are now coming, or have already come, to the painful conclusion that nothing much is to be gained by having the Parliament in session. That such should be the case in Spain may be a little surprising, in view of the fact that, ever since the advent of the Republican regime, the country has been living in a condition of nervous political effervescence for which no end is at yet in sight. However, it is perhaps for this very reason that more and more people are becoming skeptical regarding the ultimate use of all this political excitement. While the national economy languishes, the social conflict and unrest become more and more acute, and while the thousand and one problems which the Republic was going to solve are still waiting for a solution, these people realize that all the country is doing is simply exhausting its energies in the fruitless parliamentary struggle of parties and personalities.

It was thanks to Parliament's being closed that Señor Samper was able to keep himself and his cabinet in power during the summer months. Everyone realizes that this is nothing but a transitory situation, and it may be only a question of a few days, nay, of a few hours, before we read that the Samper government is gone (political prophets fix the *crisis* for the opening day of the *Cortes*: October 1st). What may come next is rather problematic, but it is quite certain that the Catholic leader of the Rights, Gil Robles, will play an important role in whatever decision is taken. That he himself may wish to head the government to be formed, is possible, though not probable. It is no secret that the Rights are anxious to have certain changes made in the new Constitution, but perhaps he feels that the time has not yet arrived to attempt it. Article 125 of the new Constitution provides that a two-thirds majority will be required to make any change during the first four years of the life of that document, and only an absolute majority thereafter. Gil Robles knows very well that he cannot command today any such majority, and perhaps the idea is to wait until the first four years are over so as to make things easier and be sure that the desired changes, when attempted, are carried through. Still another consideration in his mind may be the oppo-

sition that he knows a government led by him would find among the Socialists, and perhaps he is unwilling to precipitate a conflict that might begin in the *Cortes* and end in the streets—a conflict which, on the other hand, seems to be inevitable in the near future.

As a consequence of the actual predominance of the Rights in the *Cortes* it seems as if Spain would ere long have another concordat with the Vatican. To that effect, Señor Pita Romero, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Samper government, spent the summer months in Rome personally conducting the negotiations. Nothing definite has been concluded thus far, and difficulties of different kinds seem to have arisen. Probably, however, the greatest difficulty has been the fact that the Vatican, knowing only too well the precarious condition of the Samper government, is not at all anxious to negotiate with it. Then, too, the Vatican no doubt expects to get a better bargain once the Rights, led by Gil Robles, or by some similar person, are in full control of the government.

The Tribunal of Guarantees' declaration of the unconstitutionality of the Catalonian *Ley de cultivos* is causing a great deal of friction between the Catalonian and the central governments. It begins to appear now that the Catalonian problem is far from having been solved by the Statute granting Catalonia its autonomy. Aside from other difficulties, there is the very serious one that Catalonians seem to be unable to agree among themselves regarding what they want and how they want it done. Who knows! Maybe the day is not far off when the central government may have to step in to make peace among the Catalonians.

CÉSAR BARJA

University of California at Los Angeles

REVIEWS

GERMAN EMIGRANT LITERATURE

It is unique that outside of Germany we have nowadays a German literature independent of the fatherland, a literature which cannot be ignored by anyone who wishes to be well informed.

A good example of this expatriate German literature may be seen in the publications of the *Europäischer Merkur*, 35 Boulevard Strasbourg, Paris 10, all of which appeared in 1933 and 1934.

Ernst Glaeser, author of the famous *Jahrgang 1902*, contributes the first novel of a trilogy of the new Germany entitled *Der letzte Zivilist*. He gives an authentic picture of the events in Germany up to the spring 1933. It is a great "document humain" and one of lasting value. The second volume, *Die Gleichschaltung Gottes*, will be out in a few months.

Margaret Anger in her simple novel of the free Germany of yesterday *Ist es vorbei?* presents a serene story of two young lovers who find one another despite all prevalent prejudices and outmoded inhibitions and develop a communion of souls full of optimism and affirmation of the good life.

Peter Mendelssohn tells us the story of *Das Haus Cosinsky*, a chronicle of a feudal family in the province of Hanover from the beginning of history to the end of the period of inflation. The central figure is a girl of unusual charm, a typical example of the proud-thinking youth of the last generation of the youth-movement, unaffected by the decaying world around her. A second volume will be out this year under the title: *Die Töchter Cosinsky*.

Ika Halpern and Rudolf Olden give us in *Ein Jahr deutscher Emigration* an account of the first year of German emigration. It is a moving story of the expatriates, the experiences they have to go through, and what the future may have in store for them.

Heinrich Mann, the brother of Thomas, in collaboration with an anonymous young German gives us an analysis of the meaning of this emigration in *Der Sinn dieser Emigration*.

The same publishing house is sponsoring a very timely series of the pamphlets of the *Europäischer Merkur* for the purpose of a free objective discussion of those questions which are essential for the salvation of European civilization. This is the fight for the basic human rights, for freedom of thought and faith, the ethics of a real humanism of the autonomous human being who is a citizen of the whole world, a real *Weltbürger*.

Rudolf Olden tries to find the reason for the tragic failure and well-deserved downfall of the socialist parties of Germany in his pamphlet: *Warum versagten die Marxisten?* He gives appalling examples of the complete lack of political instinct, a lack which is a deep-rooted German characteristic. Some very telling examples are: the high-school and university teachers of Germany were left free still to believe in the legitimacy of the down fallen Imperial Reich; the most reactionary student-fraternities were never controlled nor reformed and the young lawyers of the Republic being its bitterest enemies, sabotaged any real reforms in the administration of justice.

Joseph Amiel furnishes in his *Palästina, das erlaubte Land* the latest information on Palestine. He has just returned from one of his trips and he is a most versatile judge of the recent conditions due to the influx of the new emigrants. He is quite hopeful that the will to live a rationally organized life will create a new and wholesome existence for the pioneers who can be certain

that the following generations will create a lasting civilization of their own. This is infinitely more than anybody dared to hope for in Germany and Europe since the last 20 years.

Albert Grimm discusses the question: *Gibt es Arier?* in a splendid essay and he states: "The Aryan of flesh and blood—not a dictionary or a grammar—for whom are reserved all honors in Germany, does not exist and cannot exist because language and race are two different things and because dictionaries do not beget children—or, as it might be said, in the English Parliament: does the most honorable gentleman know that there is no such thing as an Aryan race and that 30% of all Germans belong to a race which is much more foreign to the Nordics than even the Jews?"

Finally Lion Feuchtwanger and Arnold Zweig, the author of *Caliban*, present a symposion on the tragic controversy between Jews and Antisemitism in *Die Aufgabe des Judentums*. They give us a deep insight into their legitimate fight for humanity, reason and the search for truth and justice. Their argument is one which cannot be evaded or forgotten.

The one great issue which becomes perfectly clear after reading this selection of books is the necessity for fighting against hatred—the hatred of peoples, of classes and of races. That does not mean to combat fighting as such—no, the *agon* is deeply rooted in human nature, as Herakleitus even in his day pointed out. It is impossible nowadays to follow the naive reasoning: the laborers are right, the capitalists are wrong; the Catholics are good and the Protestants wicked and vice versa. We have looked too deeply into the polaric structure of this world of ours: next to the Catholic stands the Protestant; next to the German the Frenchman, and next to the employer the employee. They are in sore need of one another—as the hare needs the fox, as the shepherd's dog needs the herd, as a man needs a woman, for a complement; as the woman needs the man, for a mirror; as every merchant needs his competitor.

No party is a complete mirror of humanity—only the sum of all parties constitutes it, as colors merge into white light. If we had Protestants only—or Catholics, or Jews—they would not be what they are today; if only Germans existed they would lag hopelessly behind their idea.

Therefore competition, fights are essential—but not hatred. The pure fire of passion creates the good that comes out of every fight. But hatred destroys the hater. The fight is directed towards the object—hated towards the person; the *agon* tends towards positive ideals—hatred tends towards destruction. The *agon* knows its intention, hatred is blind and deaf; combat is noble, hatred is base and rooted in stupidity. Many common generalizations lie at the root of hatred: the hater often compares his own ideal self with his enemy's real or perhaps maligned self. A deep inner dissatisfaction with life looks out for a scapegoat and the primitive always falls back on formerly inherited objects of hatred: the Jews, the capitalists or the anonymous masses.

Many people hate out of envy, out of the consciousness of their impotence to meet their opponents on equal terms. It is appalling how antisemitism, chauvinism and religious hatred can devastate the soul of a human being. A chivalrous fight can awaken all that is good and noble in the competitors while hatred is like the look of a snake.

Let us fight chauvinism, antisemitism or any demon but by objective reasoning and not by the poisoned arrows of hatred. He who wants to be an educated human being must be careful to abstain from any kind of hatred. Every-

body may have his antipathies; they are the basic force of every personality of any importance, but only at his peril may he lapse into hatred.

It is a very great sin nowadays if a teacher tries to foster in his students prejudices against one special group of fellow human beings instead of pointing out the road of high living and clear thinking. All our energies should become positive forces for the building of a really humanized community of creative human beings.

ROLF HOFFMANN

University of California at Los Angeles

Three French Dramatists: Racine, Marivaux, Musset. By Arthur Tilley. (Cambridge, University Press, 1933. The MacMillan Co., New York. iii + 206 pp.)

Familiarity with Tilley's admirable studies in sixteenth century French literature will warrant an expectation of finding sanity of judgment, accuracy of detail, and attractiveness of style in any work of this able scholar. This new volume fully realizes that expectation. It does not pretend to be the result of extensive original research. Save for one element, to which we shall refer later, the author does not bring out new facts derived from his own investigations. Indeed, as he indicates in his short preface, as well as in other places, he uses and interprets the studies of several eminent French scholars and critics, among whom he mentions Lemaitre, Larroumet, Lafoscade, Lyonnet and Sarcey. In this respect praise, not censure, is due him. The French critical mind operates so differently from the English or American that a competent interpreter of French criticism renders a distinct service.

At the start of his Preface Tilley explains his reasons for grouping together these three dramatists and indicates his general judgment of them. Racine, Marivaux and Musset are: 1st, psychological dramatists; 2d, they all have a "strong dramatic sense"; 3d, they all possess a "style which is at once individual and of great charm." The treatment of each author is identical. The main facts of the life of each are set down with great discrimination. We are given the essentials for understanding the writer's personality and are not confused with a mass of irrelevant and inconsequential details. Next, there is a concise and enlightening analysis of all the important plays. Tilley has carefully composed this portion of his work. Plots are clearly outlined, the most significant scenes are indicated and analyzed, and the main characters are examined. The judgments rendered on admirable qualities and possible defects reveal literary and dramatic criticism of the highest order. Tilley also provides a deal of information, painstakingly condensed from his sources, regarding the players who created the various rôles, the influence which they had upon the success of the respective plays, and many interesting details concerning the relations of the players and playwrights. Few works contain so many valuable data in so brief a space. Finally, there is in the case of each author a general summary and estimate of characteristics and merits.

In the treatment of Racine (pp. 1-77), the following points may be noted: Racine's shabby treatment of both Corneille and Molière, the emphasis upon Boileau's influence, and the power of Racine to "comprise a world of meaning in a 'lonely word'." It may be that too much stress is placed upon the part of Boileau; we are inclined to agree with the majority of critics who regard the Hellenistic studies at Port-Royal as the most potent influence upon

Racine. Nor is there mention of the Cartesian psychology. This is a bit surprising. Certainly the *Traité des Passions* had served Corneille, it pervades the novels of Madame de Lafayette, and it is very evident in such tragedies as *Andromaque* and *Phèdre*. But it were perhaps ungracious to raise these points. Tilley has given a sympathetic and intelligent exposition of the art of an author whom an Englishman is likely to find as difficult of comprehension as was Shakespeare for the French of the Eighteenth century.

The discussion of Marivaux (pp. 78-136) is similarly enlightening. In our opinion, Tilley brings new light upon this dramatist. France was greatly influenced by England in the eighteenth century—the Abbé Prévost, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, etc., have been noted. But the connection has not been so distinctly noted in the case of Marivaux. Tilley apparently proves his point. Another matter of interest is the close association of Marivaux' language with that of the salons of the day: *marivaudage* may well have been more a product of contemporary society than of the individual. And, by the way, Tilley is inclined to minimize this quality of Marivaux. He is rather of the opinion that Voltaire's prejudices and authority have had undue importance. Tilley records the relation of Marivaux to Racine, but he is not original in this. Brunetière (in his *Histoire de la Litt. fran. classique*, III, ch. ix) has gone exhaustively into this, even to suggesting such parallels as *Andromaque* and *La Double Inconstance* or *Bajazet* and *Les Fausses Confidences*.

At the start of his account of Musset (pp. 137-206) Tilley notes that Marivaux shows no traces of direct borrowing from Racine and that the same is true of Marivaux and Musset. Really, is not this a bit strong in view of his accompanying comment that the "influence in both cases is evident"? New and interesting facts are brought out in this study of Musset. The first is the effect produced upon him and other romanticists by the visit, in 1827-28, of a company of English actors including Kean, Macready and Kemble. The second is the extent of the influence of Shakespeare upon Musset. The parallels that Tilley draws between *Hamlet* and *Lorenzaccio* are, to say the least, fairly convincing. It may be that Tilley as an Englishman is inclined to stress the point; certainly the French critics of Musset do not. However, Tilley produces a rather formidable mass of evidence, and he further shows that some of Musset's contemporaries were of like opinion. He quotes a letter of the Princesse de Belgiojoso to Musset: "Vous pensez et sentez comme Shakespeare et parlez comme Marivaux." Which statement, we may remark, adequately resumes Tilley's judgment of our *enfant gâté*.

Our interest in this delightful volume has perhaps enticed us to comment at too great length. Our enjoyment is natural. The book may be read with profit by the casual student of French literature; the mature scholar will find many suggestions of value in it.

HENRY R. BRUSH

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Nature in the Works of Camille Lemonnier. By F. R. Pope. (Publications of the Institute of French Studies. Columbia University. New York, 1933.)

M. Pope has published a study which is profitable and enjoyable reading. It is entitled *Nature in the Work of Camille Lemonnier*, and its aim, stated by M. Pope, is as follows: "Our present humble endeavor will be to elucidate

a conception of nature found in the work of Camille Lemonnier. . . . We shall attempt a synthesis and critique of this particular *nature*."

In the short biography of Camille Lemonnier that M. Pope has written, he sets forth all that the Belgian realist owes to his contemporaries; I would feel no hesitancy in stating that Lemonnier owes more to Zola than to de Coster and perhaps to Rops the painter a good bit more than is generally believed. As for the Germanic influences that Lemonnier may have undergone, I deem them to be of little account.

M. Pope, in his study of Lemonnier's novels, classifies them arbitrarily according to three periods of production: the *wholesome*, which is pantheistic in inspiration; the *morbid*, an abnormal or degenerate period; the third period, which shows a tendency to return to the first manner.

For the critic's convenience, such a classification may be useful. But it seems to me that the work of Camille Lemonnier, as a whole, offers an undeniable unity.

The début of his production is deeply tinged with a naturalism à la Zola: then, the work follows a gentler bend, tends towards a less obvious, more delicate naturalism. There is in Lemonnier, as it were, a softening of his first manner; a phenomenon which is not uncommon with many young authors, who, after a rather sensational, extreme début, come to a more measured tone. This second manner, as M. Pope says, finds expression and culminates, in "the indissoluble unity in which the component elements of his triune nature (Human, External, and Creative) are bound, and in the prevailing quality of movement which animates that nature."

We are thankful to the Institute of French studies to have given us this book on Lemonnier. May we here express the hope that there will follow other studies on literature of French expression in Belgium; too often is this living, varied and powerful work pursued in Belgium, ignored in America.

ADOLPHE-JACQUES DICKMAN

University of Wyoming

TEXT BOOKS

FRENCH

Nineteenth Century French Readings—ROMANTICISM (1789-1848). By Albert Schinz. Volume I. (Henry Holt and Company, 1934. xxi + 616 pp. \$1.88.)

Some of us who in our classes of French Literature have used with profit the *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century French Readings* by Prof. Albert Schinz are delighted to see our hopes realized in the edition of the *Nineteenth Century French Readings* by the same author. But unfortunately our desire is only half satisfied as we must wait for the second volume, the first one dealing only with the Romantic period.

In *Nineteenth Century French Readings* is to be found a gold mine of documents of infinite value to the teacher. M. Schinz is a fine investigator and knows how to use the scholar's tools—cards, blue pencil, and a pair of scissors. In his long university career he has always been noted as having an enquiring mind. He verifies every scrap of information he comes across; never will you find him amiss in his facts; he is always keeping you up to date on different literary problems. Take, for instance, the story of *Adolphe*. We have been told repeatedly that this novel is a literary account of the liaison between Benjamin Constant and Madame de Staél. We may even have heard that the name of a certain Madame Lindsay had been used to cover Madame de Staél. Now it seems an established fact (p. 111) that there was no question of cloaking anyone. Ellénore was actually Madame Lindsay. In *Le Temps* of December 9th, 1930, you may read an article by Emile Henriot on *la vraie Ellénore*, and further you may consult the *Correspondance de B. Constant et d'Anna Lindsay*, published by the Baronne Constant de Rebecque (Paris, 1933). With similar revelations brought to light—and they abound in his text book—Professor Schinz in a few years' time is sure to have more than one doctor's thesis on his conscience. And how many ingenious hints do we get for the introduction of literary works to our students!

Fellow Colleagues of California, has it ever occurred to you that the study of our missions especially that of Santa Barbara is a great help in understanding Chateaubriand's *Père Aubry* and his work? Of course, our Pennsylvania Professor gives you a reference in your own county (p. 55) where you could not possibly be prophets (*Mission Santa Barbara, Early Days in Alta California, History and Description of the Old Franciscan Mission*, C. H. McIsaac, Publ. Santa Barbara, California, 31 pp.). After having introduced any work in this fashion the question for M. Schinz is to see to it that the reader gains a pertinent and lasting impression. For that purpose long extracts are necessary. For example, after having read many an anthology students will tell you that for them the works of Balzac are summed up in the description of the Vauquier boarding-house, and many of them have only just seen the front of it. In the thirteenth chapter of this book you get thirty-five pages on *La Comédie Humaine* including an extract of the Preface followed by a detailed analysis, a plan of the book, and an introduction to the principal characters. Look out too for short analyses with selections of *Le Père Goriot*, *Eugénie Grandet* and the episode of *El Verdugo*, which shows us romantic Balzac in the most complete sense of the term (pp. 602-603).

For after all it is the authors we must know. As Balzac himself said, "les figures saillantes"—and Professor Schinz borrows the expression for his per-

sonal use (p. 3). Decidedly ignoring all artificial classifications such as the *genres littéraires* he brings to our attention only the men and especially the most outstanding ones. After a student has studied them in *Nineteenth Century French Readings*, he will certainly be well informed about them.

It is precisely such authority that impresses one—the authority of a man who knows both what he wants and what he does. I can think of no better text book than *Nineteenth Century French Readings*. Its quality richly compensates us for waiting for it, and if the second volume proves to be of the same caliber as the first, it is probable that in comparison to ours, Sister Anne's proverbial waiting would amount to nothing.

EMILE CAILLIET

Scripps College

Perrine, d'après En Famille par Hector Malot. By Louise C. Seibert. (University of Chicago Press, 1934. 222 pp. \$1.15.)

Perrine, adapted from the novel *En Famille* (Malot), edited by Louise C. Seibert and published by the University of Chicago Press comes as a suitable reader for late second year high school work.

The honesty, courage, and faithfulness of *Perrine* gives the story of *Nobody's Girl* an attraction which will encourage the student to read on.

This book is an ideal exposition of the reading method, which specifies that students should learn to read without being aware of the learning process. Because of its content-interest, its rich dialogue, and its wealth of everyday expressions, *Perrine* might well give the alert student a useful thinking and speaking vocabulary, as well as some ability to read easily, understandingly, and appreciatively.

With the unusual words translated within the text, and unfamiliar idioms and phrases translated at the foot of the page the student reads cheerfully on with little need to turn to the vocabulary.

For those who wish to take more seriously constructions and use of forms, there are abundant exercises based upon each chapter. Here are lists of idiomatic expressions for sentence building; rapid translations into English; word studies through cognates, antonyms, synonyms, and etymology; true-false tests; and excellent questions.

SOPHIA CRAMER

Palo Alto Union High School

GERMAN

Minimum German. By Carl F. Schreiber and Nils G. Sahlin. (F. S. Crofts & Co., 1934.)

There is actually a definite need of review grammars which incorporate the more recent findings of language research. One reading of the work under consideration conveys the impression that this need continues to exist. Highest praise must be given the first 32 pages, which are devoted to the minimum essentials of grammar. It is futile to advocate any necessity for the application of the inductive method in reviewing grammar, and the authors have wisely refrained from attempting it. The subject matter is presented in clear, concise terminology, although it seems that the absence of more closely defined chapters may often render the work confusing to the student. Abstract grammar, however, is of little practical value unless accompanied by fairly

extensive composition material. That *Minimum German* fails to provide such practice work is indeed a defect.

Pages 33 to 56 supply excellent reading material, but since this can only increase the cost of the book, there is room for doubt as to the wisdom of printing it here.

Pages 57 to 111 attempt to put into practicable form Morgan's *German Frequency List* and Hauch's *German Idiom List*. The enterprise is in itself most commendable. The instructor is advised to apply the "derivative principle," but is offered no aids, such as may be found in Hagboldt's *Building the German Vocabulary*. The words are divided into groups of 25 each as a convenient assignment. We must agree that an alphabetical arrangement would have no pedagogical value, but we must also protest that the adherence to the frequency numbers has contributed nothing. Morgan's list is divided into units which the text-writer should regard as an entity. Is it reasonable to suppose that a student should learn *dieser* in Group 1 and be forced to postpone *jener* to Group 5? The Ollendorfian sentences appended to these word groups bear mute testimony that such is not the method of utilizing a word list. If a list is to be used in such a manner, the writer must at least select groups of homogeneous words. The sentences themselves can scarcely be called good English: "It is the book on the chair, which I took out of the room" (p. 58); "He is a mean (*gemein!*) person" (p. 61); "She had only bills and they could not change it for her" (p. 71); "He seized upon the book . . ." (p. 64); "We have everything along . . ." (p. 58); etc.

The writer has long been familiar with Schreiber's mimeographed sheets on *Minimum German*. It is a great pity that such valuable material has been incorporated with the word list attempt. Still some consolation may be derived from the fact that the first 56 pages seem well worth the cost of the entire book.

University of Buffalo

CURTIS C. D. VAIL

German Review Grammar and Composition Book. By Bayard Q. Morgan and Erwin T. Mohme. (D. C. Heath and Company, 1934. ix + 292 pp. \$1.40.)

Morgan and Mohme's *Review Grammar and Composition Book* may be called an ideal text for teachers who believe in the grammar approach to language mastery. In eighteen topically arranged lessons, all the fundamental facts and scores of minor usages are succinctly stated in English and adequately illustrated in German.

The reading passages and exercises are well constructed and fairly bristle with illustrations of the grammatical points under discussion. The subject matter presents a sufficient variety to hold the interest of the student—modern Germany, student life and sports, literature, legends and German contributions to America.

A novel feature of the book is the introduction of a series of carefully selected idioms and proverbs in each lesson. The alphabetical list of 159 strong verbs with their principal parts and the sixteen-page English-German vocabulary are also especially commendable.

The book is perhaps best suited for intermediate college classes where a close-knit review of the scattered elements of the first year is desired.

University of California at Los Angeles

F. H. REINSCH

SPANISH

Sinónimos. Repertorio de palabras usuales castellanas de sentido análogo, semejante o aproximado. By Pedro de Irizar y Avilés. Quinta edición aumentada por Homero Seris. (Barcelona, I. G. Seix y Barral Hnos., 1932. 151 pp. Ptas. \$4.50.)

Many of our teachers and advanced students of Spanish have wished more than once for a dictionary of Spanish synonyms. The present work, though not as extensive as Roget's *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*, is similar to it in richness and variety of material under each heading. As far as the reviewer knows, it is the handiest and most easily available book of Spanish synonyms. This fifth edition has been augmented with 1500 new words, including headings and synonyms. The order of words is alphabetical, so that the task of searching for an analogous term is greatly simplified. Señor Homero Seris, of the *Centro de Estudios Históricos*, deserves the gratitude of Spanish teachers and students for bringing up to date this admirable little book, to which he has contributed with the mastery and accuracy of his pedagogical experience. For those who want to enlarge their vocabulary and add variety to their speech this work will be a treasure and an inseparable *vade-mecum*, for, as the authors tell us, "sólo con una ojeada podemos recorrer toda la serie de dicciones propias para expresar una idea con todos sus matices. No tenemos más trabajo que elegir."

HERMENEGILDO CORBATÓ

University of California at Los Angeles

MEIN ERSTES DEUTSCHES BUCH

MARGARET B. HOLZ

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